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AUTHOR Lewis, Diane K.; Bresler, Laura
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ABSTRACT

Ideological and institutional barriers in society impinge on women offenders both while incarcerated and when attempting to obtain a job or training on release. A community studies approach investigated the effectiveness of service programs available to female misdemeanants both in the jail and in the community. Interviews, observations, discussions, and questionnaires were used to collect information from imprisoned women (N=68), prison staff, and community agencies. Data indicated that in jail women were inactive and "warehoused" at a considerable distance from the community, with little attention to the problems faced upon release. A review of community resources indicated that relatively few served female ex-prisoners. Findings suggest that a need for adequate transitional services and educational and vocational counseling exists. (Author/RC)

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IS THERE A WAY OUT? A COMMUNITY STUDY OF WOMEN IN THE SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY JAIL

by

Diane K. Lewis

and

Laura Bresler

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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INTRODUCTION

This study is about incarcerated women in San Francisco, and considers some of their experiences in jail and some of the problems they encountered in the community on release. It differs from most studies of female offenders in that it concentrates on misdemeanants sentenced to a local jail and evaluates the effectiveness of service programs available to them in the jail and in the community. While many studies focus on prisoner profiles, thus implying that the plight of imprisoned women is primarily a result of their personal characteristics or inadequacies, our study attempts to view the women's individual problems in the context of wider societal determinants. Using a more holistic approach, the women can be viewed as residents of the city for whom a stay in jail is part of a larger pattern of survival. Similarly, the operations of the criminal justice system and of community service agencies can be seen as reflections of the social and economic forces that shape them. Using a community studies' approach we can consider how ideological and institutional barriers in the wider society impinge on women offenders both while incarcerated and when they attempt to obtain a job, education or training, on release.

Field work was carried out from January to August, 1979 and included several phases and a variety of methods.

1) A review of the literature on women offenders, on the relation between class, race and criminal justice, and on community based programs for ex-offenders, was conducted throughout the duration of the project.

2) Interviews were held with 68 imprisoned women. The interview schedule was a modification of instruments used in the National Study of Women's Correctional Programs by Ruth Glick and Virginia Neto, 1977, and in Women's Jail: Pretrial and Post-Conviction Alternatives by Laura Bresler and Donald Leonard, 1978. The current schedule included a number of questions on anticipated release plans and problems, and expanded items on education, vocational training and prior employment.

Follow-up interviews were conducted with some of the women after their release. Contact was maintained with four women over a period of several months.

3) Information on jail conditions, and on the operation of educational, vocational and other service programs was obtained through observations and through discussions with staff and with inmates.

4) A survey questionnaire mailed to 216 community agencies elicited 68 responses. This was followed by site visits to 45 agencies providing a variety of services to low income, educationally disadvantaged, ex-prisoner and female residents of the city. Most programs were selected for site visits on the basis of inmate observations about the types of services they felt would be most needed on their release. Interviews were held with one or more staff of the community programs. In some cases, a released prisoner's perspective of the services she had received could be compared with the service providers' views.

The First Chapter offers a selective review of the literature on female criminology. It focuses on ideological orientations in the wider society which underlie theories about women and crime and their experiences in the criminal justice system. It considers the relationship between class, race, age and criminal justice, and concludes with a discussion of how sex exacerbates other disadvantages, putting certain groups in the population at high risk for arrest and incarceration.

Chapter II presents information on the women serving sentences of up to one year in county jail. Variables such as race/ethnicity, age, and living situations prior to incarceration are presented. Where applicable, the data are compared to national data on women offenders. The educational backgrounds, vocational training, and employment histories of the women indicate needs for services from community resources.

Chapter III first briefly chronicles the stages a woman goes through from arrest to processing into the sentence jail facility. The physical set-up of the jail, and its daily activities are described. The lack of meaningful activity, the isolation from the adjoining men's jail and from the community, and the inadequacy of pre-release planning in the jail are explored in this section. The women appear to be sentenced to inactivity, "warehoused" at a considerable distance from the community, with little attention paid to the problems they will face on release.

Chapter IV describes how jail educational and vocational training programs are administered, the classes offered, their usefulness to the

women, and the educational and vocational counseling available. The problems involved in coeducation and other factors limiting the program's effectiveness are discussed. Suggestions are made to use the period of incarceration to link women with post-release community education and training programs, or better to allow them to pursue such plans in the community rather than in the institution.

Chapter V gives an overview of the kinds of community resources which are available to released prisoners when they return to the community. Community programs offer a variety of services ranging from temporary housing and food, to job placement and drug treatment. While San Francisco has a number of community services, staff interviews revealed that relatively few serve female ex-prisoners.

Chapter VI focuses on factors affecting the female ex-prisoner's utilization of community resources and her ability to succeed in the community. An examination of structural barriers to service delivery is followed by a discussion of staff beliefs regarding the women offenders' failure to benefit from programs. The impact of programmatic barriers is considered in the context of the low socio-economic status of most women in the society. Finally, staff suggestions regarding how women ex-prisoners needs can best be met, given existing resources, are reviewed.

This research had a number of practical results. A community project was instituted to provide immediate resources to incarcerated and released women. The need for re-entry planning identified by the research led to the funding of a re-entry counselor position through another community project. Resource sheets based on the information obtained on community services were prepared and distributed in the jail. A university level course was designed and offered as a regular part of the curriculum. The research directors also gave presentations on their findings at regional and national meetings of criminal justice associations. These activities are further described in Appendix D of this report.

This study considers one type of female offender, jail misdemeanants, in one community, San Francisco, incarcerated in the sentence facility at San Bruno, over a short eight-month period. Thus it is limited in scope, area and time, and suggestive, rather than representative. However, since the study attempted to clarify not only what happens to women prisoners,

but how and why, we believe it points the way for future research.

Laura Bresler wrote Chapters II, III and IV of this report and was responsible for data collection on the inmates, and on the daily life and educational and vocational programs in the jail. Diane Lewis wrote Chapters I, V and VI, conducted the literature review, and obtained information on community service programs.

I

WOMEN AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE: A REVIEW OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

Introduction

Women in jail are typically poor, young and often black. They share with men of comparable background similar experiences in the criminal justice system. Yet, on account of their sex, their experiences are also different. Like all women, they encounter social and economic discrimination in the outside world. These restrictions continue after their arrest and incarceration.[1] Thus, sex compounds problems of class, race and age experienced by the majority of all inmates. This review considers first the sexual constraints imposed on women by criminal justice and the linkage of these to the wider societal subordination of women. Next, the impact of class, race and age on criminal justice functioning, for both male and female offenders, is discussed. The chapter concludes with data showing how sex magnifies the disadvantages of race and class for women both inside of jail and outside.

Gender Role Ideology and Criminal Justice

Women's involvement with criminal justice differs from men in at least three significant ways. First, far fewer women are arrested relative to their total numbers than men. Secondly, women are proportionately charged with less serious crimes than men. Third, women in jail have less access to educational and vocational training programs and experience greater restrictions with respect to visiting hours, physical exercise and other facilities.[2] A review of the literature on women and crime suggests that women's arrest rate, patterns of crime and lack of institutional resources are the products of a gender role ideology which generates differential socialization patterns and role expectations for men and women. This ideology not only helps explain patterns of female criminality, it also rationalizes and perpetuates the subordinate economic and social position of women in the wider society.

Theorists claim that men have higher arrest and incarceration rates because they are the economic providers, expected to support the family

and to achieve success. Thus they are more subject than women to the economic and social pressures which lead to crime.[3] Although women constitute 51.3% of the total United States population, they represented only 16% of those arrested in 1977 and only 6% of those held in local jails in 1978.[4] Similarly, women are marginal in the labor force because they are perceived to be dependent on men for their primary support. Thus, although over half of all American women were in the labor force in 1979, fully employed women in 1977 earned only 58.5% of fully employed men, (yearly median earnings for women were $8,814 and for men, $15,070).[5] Women have a higher unemployment rate than men and the great majority of them (6 out of 10) work part-time or part of the year. These part-time workers, over half of whom are mothers with preschool children, constitute a peripheral work force, concentrated in the lowest paid, lowest status jobs.[6] The thesis that women's low economic status and low crime rate are both tied to the primary economic role of the male in the household appeared to be supported during war time when women assumed the positions of family head vacated by their husbands and the female crime rate also increased.[7]

Crime is also thought to be inconsistent with female behavior due to traditional differences in socialization and social control. Males are trained to be aggressive and tough, traits consistent with successful criminal activity, while females are expected to be passive and gentle. Females, furthermore, are much more closely supervised than males, especially during adolescence, and they are more strictly disciplined for minor deviations from accepted standards. Consequently, women lack not only the relevant socialization, but also requisite opportunity structures. As children they are under closer family control and do not get into the streets, as do males, where they can learn appropriate skills and attitudes. As adults, they continue to be isolated in the household, denied the jobs and contacts which provide access to criminal opportunities. Alternatively, when women are employed, they are generally concentrated in low-status, low-paid jobs in association primarily with other women. As a result, girls lack the role models of successful adult criminals to which boys are exposed.[8]

When women do commit crimes, their offenses appear to be consistent

with gender role expectations and to reflect the limited social and economic opportunities available to females. According to a 1972 survey, 44.5% of the men in jail were convicted for "major crimes" while only 22.9% of the women were charged with such offenses. Rather, three-fourths of the women were incarcerated for non-violent, minor offenses such as drug abuse or petty larceny.[9] Thus, women's crime is less violent than men's and typically involves the training and skills acquired by females: women shoplift rather than commit armed robbery; they engage in forgery rather than in auto theft; they are typically accessories to men, rather than themselves active perpetrators of crime.[10] Klein and Kress note:

> Women are traditionally just as timid and just as limited by male constrictions on their roles and male leadership within the arena of crime as they are 'above ground.' They are no more big-time drug dealers than are they finance capitalists... Women's lack of participation in 'big time' crime highlights the larger class structure of sexism that is reproduced in the illegal marketplace.[11]

Another theory regarding lower female arrest rates, that rests in part on gender role expectations, is that women actually engage in as much crime as men, but their offenses are unobstrusive because they are committed primarily in the less public spheres appropriate to female behavior. Thus, when women violate the law they do so concomitantly with their roles as wife, mother and sexual object. Women have criminal abortions, commit thefts as prostitutes or in the course of their domestic routine (shoplifting) and commit violence against family members who rarely file complaints, all crimes which are seldom detected.[12]

Gender role ideology not only underlies theories of female crime, which attempt to account for the rate and nature of female crime, it also affects the actual treatment of women in the criminal justice process. Thus, patterns of female crime are also a function of the gender role expectations held by criminal justice personnel. For example, some insist that a women's lower crime rate stems from her alleged more lenient treatment at each stage of the criminal justice process, from arrests to convictions to sentencing.[13] While, in the past, some women

offenders, particularly those who fit the mold of preferred female appearance and behavior, i.e., who were white, married, mothers, and who committed "female crimes," might have received somewhat more consideration, the notion that women, as a group, are more "chivalrously" treated is increasingly challenged in the literature.[14]

Women also display different patterns of crime than men because criminal justice officials tend to classify crimes according to differential sex-role expectations. The criteria used to establish categories of theft affect the rates at which women are arrested for different types of theft. Thus, women tend to show a substantially higher proportion of arrests for minor thefts such as forgery and fraud and a much lower rate for major thefts where force or a weapon is involved, such as armed robbery. If all theft which is currently differentiated on the basis of sex-role expectations (i.e., the "male crimes" of burglary and auto theft and the "female crimes" of forgery and fraud) were combined into one category, the female rate for theft would be much less than it is currently. Similarly, if all types of sex-offenses were categorized together, instead of the current distinctions between prostitution, forcible rape and non-commercialized sex offenses, the arrest rate for women for sex crimes would decline.[15]

The criminal justice system also tends to enforce certain laws dissimilarly due to differential expectations as to proper behavior for men and women. Hence the arrest category for prostitution omits both the customers of prostitutes and, in most jurisdictions, the male prostitute, so that prostitution becomes a "female" crime.[16] Men, for example, are expected to be sexually active as a concomitant of their gender role and to have a variety of partners, while women are expected to be chaste and to be the sexual property of one man.[17] Related to this is the practice of incarcerating juvenile females for sexual or other status offenses, while juvenile males are institutionalized for violating legal statutes.[18] Moreover, there is evidence that women who commit crimes that violate gender role expectations receive longer sentencing than men who commit similar crimes or than women who commit "female" crimes (i.e., studies suggest that women are more severely punished for crimes against the person than for property crimes). This suggests that the courts in many

instances punish women for not adhering to the appropriate gender role rather than for breaking the law.[19]

The treatment women receive in correctional institutions, similarly, appears to be affected by prevailing gender role ideology. In a survey of men's and women's prisons, Simon found that there were on an average 10 vocational training programs for men compared to 2.7 for women.[20] While official explanation given for the lack of attention to programs is that women constitute such a small proportion of all inmates and are so much less of a public threat that expenditures of limited funds are unjustified, the low priority given the employment needs of women while incarcerated is consistent with the expectation that they will be dependent on men for primary economic support on their release. Furthermore, when job training is offered, it is usually in cooking, sewing, laundry work, cosmetology and clerical skills, fields traditionally associated with women, or extensions of their domestic roles which will equip them to acquire only low paying or menial labor. By comparison, male inmates are offered a wider range of vocational skills training which can lead to high status, higher paying work on release.[21] Incarcerated women are not only excluded from nontraditional, more remunerative institutional vocational training, they also have less access to work and study release programs.[22] Moreover, they experience greater restrictions than men with respect to visiting, exercise and other facilities.[23] These broad restrictions seem to be tied to the notion that women who break the law and thereby violate expectations of appropriate female conduct are more masculine than non-criminal women. Consequently they need resocialization in proper feminine role behavior. The implicit purpose of correctional training and other restrictions is to press women to accept traditional female role constraints, rather than to acquire skills and expectations which would make them more self-sufficient and reinforce their "masculinity."[24]

Moreover, the underlying reasoning for unequal treatment may go beyond even gender role ideology and the notion that the sexes should be trained (or left untrained) to fulfill differing societal expectations. Rather attitudes and behavior toward female inmates may stem from the more deep-rooted belief that female roles are not only socially but also biologically determined. Accordingly, since women are biological childbearers,

they should appropriately be restriced to the primary roles of wife, mother, and homemaker. Thus their sex (biological) role and gender (social) role become merged, and women are defined principally in terms of their sexuality: as sexual objects and childbearers. This line of thinking underlies both early and some contemporary theories of female crime,[25] and further clarifies the implicit rationale in the treatment of women in criminal justice.

Law enforcement personnel exemplify this belief in their tendency to redefine and sexualize crimes committed by women which do not fit female gender role expectations. The offenses of juvenile women are often viewed as sex offenses despite the official charge.[26] Similarly, adult female deviants, regardless of their offenses, are often considered also or primarily prostitutes by both law enforcement and the public generally.[27] Correctional workers, too, tend to define women primarily in terms of their sexuality so that their behavior is viewed as essentially biologically or psychologically rooted, while male behavior is considered to be more socially determined. A woman deviant who fails to behave according to societal expectations is often seen as individually pathological, while a male offender may be viewed as making a rational response to the social and economic pressures which inhibit him from legitimately fulfilling the male role. Consequently, women offenders are viewed as more in need of therapy and psychological treatment, while males are thought to benefit most from educational and vocational training.[28] Finally, since women convicted of crimes are viewed as violating both legal and biologically based norms, they may be dismissed as somehow biologically inadequate and thus morally unworthy of training.[29]

Although women prisoners experience differential treatment by virtue of their sex, they also share characteristics with male prisoners which significantly influence both their chances of being involved with the criminal justice system and their experiences once caught in it. The typical prisoner, male as well as female, is poor, black and young. It is critical, therefore, to review how class, race and age impact on the criminal justice process and then to consider how these factors intersect with sex. This approach provides the social and political framework necessary to consider the specific findings from the present study.

Class and Criminal Justice

Most people serving time in prisons and jails are, as noted, poor. A 1978 jail survey reveals that 46% of the 158,000 incarcerated in February earned less than $3,000 a year and 61% had less than a high school education.[30] This pattern is also characteristic of prison inmates.[31]

Although most incarcerated people are poor, crime occurs at all class levels and is, in fact, pervasive.[32] Estimates are that 50-90% of all crimes are not reported.[33] The more affluent break numerous laws each year, ranging from traffic offenses to prohibited sex acts to tax fraud. Burkhart observes that "the average urban resident commits eighteen felonies a year, each punishable theoretically by a year or more imprisonment."[34] The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice conducted a national survey in 1965 which found that 91% of Americans admitted behavior for which they might have been sentenced to jail or prison.[35]

The type of crime tends to vary by class. Moreover, the offenses committed by the "middle class," those "white collar crimes" including tax fraud, swindling and embezzlement, are far more costly than offenses associated with the poor, the "street crimes" such as robbery, burglary and auto theft.[36] Bank embezzlements, for example, are ten time more profitable than bank robberies[37] while the loss from all property Index Crimes (which includes robbery, burglary and auto theft)[38] is one-fifth that of white collar crimes.[39] Despite the greater economic loss, the criminal justice system concentrates on apprehending and punishing the lower class offender. White collar criminals, when arrested and convicted, are generally fined or put on probation, while crimes by the poor are typically punished by lengthy imprisonment. For example, in the U.S. district courts in 1969, 92% of persons convicted for robbery were imprisoned, while less than 19% of those convicted for tax evasion were incarcerated. The average prison time served by robbers was 52 months, while for tax evaders, it was nine and a half months.[40]

Not only are "middle class crimes" rarely or relatively lightly punished, but for those crimes which both the affluent and the poor are likely to commit the affluent are seldom incarcerated.[41] Goldfarb notes a dual system of justice, one that is public and official for poor

offenders who are prosecuted, sentenced and institutionalized under the auspices of the criminal justice system, and the other which is private and unofficial, for the middle class offenders who tend to be diverted altogether from the criminal justice system to the care of psychiatrists and other helping professionals.[42]

Race and Criminal Justice

A high proportion of the poor in this country are black and there is, significantly, a disproportionate number of blacks who are arrested and incarcerated. Blacks were 12% of the total population in 1978, but constituted 31% of all those living in poverty[43] and were almost 27% of those adults arrested for all types of crimes.[44]

While the class basis of black involvement in the criminal justice system is clear, it is not the whole story. For example, a study in Denver of police interaction with black and Spanish surname inhabitants found that the relationship between law enforcement and the two minority groups was influenced more by race than class.[45] Police are not only more likely to suspect and arrest blacks for criminal behavior than whites, prosecutors more often drop charges against whites, blacks are less frequently tried by a jury of peers and thus are more likely to be convicted of crime and, finally, once convicted, blacks are less often put on probation and are more likely to serve longer sentences for comparable crimes.[46] Thus, blacks comprised 41% of the total jail population[47] and 47% of all those in state prisons.[48] In California in 1976, blacks were 7% of the population and 34% of all prison inmates.[49] The disparity between the races is dramatized by national incarceration figures which show that the black incarceration rate in this country is nearly 8½ times that of whites. Thus, the 1973 median incarceration rate for whites was 43.5, for blacks 367.5 per 100,000.[50] Allen Breed, Director of the National Institute of Corrections, cites findings from a Maryland study which he believes may be characteristic of the nation generally. The study showed that the majority of those arrested for class A felony crimes in that state were white and the minority were black. However, only 28% of the whites, while 78% of the blacks went to prison for these offenses. He notes "Prisons at the present rate will soon only house minorities. If we would incarcerate

Browns and Blacks like we do whites, there would be no overcrowding in prisons and jails in America today."[51] Thus, whites, as well as the middle class, tend to be protected by the discretionary process of criminal justice.

Age and Criminal Justice

The typical arrested offender is not only black and poor, but also young. Nationally, persons under 25 years of age constituted 56% of all those arrested in 1977. Significantly individuals under 25 constituted 73% of all those arrested for Index Crimes which include the "street crimes" generally associated with low income persons.[52] The 1978 national census of jails reveals that 70% of all the inmates were in their twenties.[53] Since the arrest rates for Index Crimes indicate that those persons under 25 commit more crime than any other age group, the hypothesis has been formulated that the incidence of crime is significantly affected by the age distribution of the general population.[54] An extension of this line of reasoning is that those racial groups in our society with the largest youthful population would have the greatest amount of crime. Blacks, for example, are more youthful, as a group, than whites, their median age being 24.3 years compared to 30.3 years. Moreover, in 1978, 52% of the black population was 24 and under compared to 41% of the white population, a demographic pattern which could help explain the relatively high arrest and incarceration rates for the black population.[55] Yet studies of juvenile offenders indicate that class and race, rather than age, determine entanglement with the criminal justice system. According to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement, 90% of all American youth have committed acts for which they could be sentenced to juvenile court,[56] yet 95% of those actually in custody were from low income backgrounds. Moreover, even when middle class youth are arrested, a private system of justice prevails and they tend to be released to the custody of their parents as noted above.[57]

Age, Sex and Race

The same factors are operative with female offenders. Thus, female inmates, like males, tend to be young. A 1976 nation-wide study revealed

that over 45% of the incarcerated women were between ages 18 and 25. In fact, surveys generally show that the great majority of all those women in jails and prisons are in their twenties.[58] While the 1976 study showed that the same proportion of both black and white inmates were under 25, other research suggests that incarcerated black women are, as a group, younger than incarcerated white women.[59] For example, von Hentig, in line with the thesis noted above, that those groups with more youthful populations have a higher crime rate, argued that one factor in the higher incarceration rates of black women relative to white women in the 1930's was the higher concentration of black females in the "crime-prone" age group of 15-39 years of age. He found, at that time, that there was a higher percentage of black women in that age group than white women, with the disparity greatest in some urban areas where it exceeded 10 percentage points: in New York, 45% of white women and 57.9% of black women fell in that age group.[60] The greater relative youth of black women in the general population continues to the present. In 1978, 49% of black females were 24 and younger, while 39% of whites were in that age range.[61] However, a closer look at demographic and crime figures suggests that race and class discrimination, rather than youthful age, account for the higher arrest and incarceration rates of black women, as for poor and minority prisoners generally. This is shown in San Francisco, where in 1979, 35% of black females, compared to 29% of white females were ages 16-34, the closest approximation to von Hentig's "crime prone" age category in existing figures. The critical factor however would seem to be the proportion of the two races in the "crime prone" age group, as a whole, in the city, not the proportion of that age category within a specific racial group. Thus, black females comprise only 18.9% of the females aged 18 to 24 in San Francisco, while white females are 52.4% of that age group.[62] Yet black women are grossly overrepresented in crime statistics, out of all proportion to their numbers in a "crime-prone" age group. For example, a six month, 1978 study of sentencing patterns in the city showed that black women were 47% and white women 49% of all women sentenced during that period.[63]

Women who are poor, black and young, as well as men, are at greatest risk for arrest and incarceration in the United States. Sex, moreover,

tends to magnify the effects of class and race. For example, women, are greatly overrepresented in the poverty population. Black women, in particular, display disproportionately higher rates of both marginality and poverty. These factors are reflected in significant differences in the arrest and incarceration rates for certain groups of women.

The Relationship of Sex to Class and Race in Criminal Justice

Poverty is a significant characteristic of incarcerated women, especially women with dependent children. The National Study of Women's Correctional Programs (hereafter known as the National Study), a fourteen state survey of jails and prisons, revealed that the socio-economic background of female inmates was low and that over half the women were on welfare prior to incarceration.[64] Other jail studies indicated that more than 60% of the female inmates were either on welfare, unemployed or living by illegal means, and that the minority of women who were employed worked at low-skilled and low paid jobs.[65] Eighty percent of the women serving time in the jails of one state had dependent children and although many had not been living with their children prior to their arrests, the National Study revealed that over half of all women with children were responsible for their offspring's care before their incarceration.[66]

The impoverished status of women who are incarcerated is a reflection of the low socio-economic status of women generally. Thus, 32% of all full-time employed women, while only 11% of all men earned less than $7,000 in 1977.[67] Moreover, although the numbers of women workers have more than doubled since 1955,[68] the salaries of full-time women workers fall behind men's for every major occupational group. See Table 1.

Table 1
Median Earnings of Full-Time, Year-Round Workers,
14 Years and Over, 1977

Occupational Group	Women	Men	Women's earnings as a percent of men's
Professional and technical workers	$11,995	$18,224	65.8
Managers and administrators (except farm)	9,799	18,086	54.2
Sales workers	6,825	16,067	42.5
Clerical workers	8,601	13,966	61.6
Craft and Kindred workers	8,902	14,517	61.3
Operatives (including transport)	7,350	12,612	58.3
Service workers (except private household)	6,108	10,332	59.1
Nonfarm laborers	7,441	10,824	68.7

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, The Earnings Gap Between Women and Men (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979), table 3, pp. 8-9.

Women, because of their disadvantaged status in the labor market, more often live in poverty than men. In 1967, among those full-time workers with salaries of less than $3,500, 45.5% were white females, while 33.5% were white males. White women were only 30% of the total labor force at that time, but almost half of the fully employed working poor.[69] Poverty is particularly likely for women who are heads of households. While female headed families comprised 14.4 percent of all families in 1978, they were 49% of all families who were poor in the United States in 1977.[70]

Incarcerated women who are black are more economically disadvantaged than those who are white. Roughly 62% of black female inmates compared to almost 45% of all white inmates in the National Study were on welfare

prior to incarceration. For those with former work experience, black women were almost twice as likely to have worked at unskilled jobs as other women.[71]

These differences between black and white incarcerated women, similarly, reflect the black woman's more disadvantaged socio-economic status on the outside. Black women have higher rates of labor force participation, lower salaries and higher rates of unemployment than white women. In October, 1978, 53.6% of all black women 16 years and over were in the labor force compared to 50.5% of all white women.[72] The median earnings for full-time workers in 1977 was $8,787 for white women and $8,217 for black women.[73] Adult white women have an unemployment rate of 4.8 percent compared to 10.5 percent for black women.[74] Although black women find it more difficult to obtain jobs, they are more often heads of households. In 1978, only 11.5 percent of white families were female headed, but 39.2 percent of black families were headed by women.[75] While white female headed families were 2.44 times as likely to be living in poverty as the average white male headed family, black female headed families were over five times as likely to be living in that situation.[76] Moreover, 31.3% of all black women 16 years and over lived in poverty in 1976, compared to 9.8% of all white women.[77]

Not surprisingly, race is linked significantly to higher rates of incarceration for certain women. The National Study indicated that while black women were 10% of the adult female population in the states surveyed, they were half of those incarcerated. The authors noted: "Even in those states where the percentage of incarcerated blacks was small, it was disproportionately high in comparison to the general population. For example, in Minnesota, 17.7% of the inmates were blacks, but less than 1% of the population was black."[78] The proportion of black women incarcerated in some states was higher than 50%. For example, in Florida, black women were 59% of those women incarcerated as convicted felons, while in Alabama they constituted 75% of the inmates of state prisons.[79] Moreover, a California study of the frequency with which women parolees were returned to prison for parole rule violations found that the return rate was correlated, not with new criminal behavior, but with characteristics such as prior record, history of narcotics use, and race,

black parolees more often being re-incarcerated than white parolees.[80] Sex amplifies the effects of race to such an extent that in some areas a higher proportion of black women relative to other women are arrested and incarcerated than black men relative to white men.[81]

Footnotes

1. Incarcerated women encounter most restrictions in jails, where persons awaiting trial are detained and those serving short terms (for misdemeanors) are sentenced. While this discussion focuses on jailed women, theories about female crime apply to women in state and federal prisons as well. For information on the differences between women's prisons and jails, see Ruth M. Glick and Virginia V. Neto, National Study of Women's Correctional Programs (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977), p. 190. Other recent excellent sources on the female offender's experience in the criminal justice system and on female criminology are: U.S. General Accounting Office, Female Offenders: Who Are They and What Are the Problems Confronting Them? (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1979); Kathryn Watterson Burkhart, Women in Prison (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1973); Carol Smart, Women, Crime and Criminology: A Feminist Critique (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976); Lee H. Bowker (with contributions by Meda Chesney-Lind and Joy Pollock), Women, Crime and the Criminal Justice System (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1978); Laura Crites, ed., Female Offender (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1976); Freda Adler and Rita James Simon, ed., The Criminology of Deviant Women (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1979). In addition David M. Horton and Marjorie Kravitz, The Female Offender: A Selected Bibliography (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1979), annotates some of the important literature appearing between 1965 and 1978.

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6. Patricia Cayo Sexton, Women and Work (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 19, 27.

7. Scutt, p. 12. For a critique of this thesis, see Jocelynne A. Scutt, "Crime and Equality of the Sexes," Misdaad, Straf en Hermorming (Crime, Punishment and Correction) 5 (1975):59-60.

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29. Smart, Women, Crime and Criminology, pp. 34, 141; Burkhart, pp. 70-83; Weis, p. 17; U.S. General Accounting Office, p. 38; Sims.

30. U.S. Department of Justice, Census of Jails and Survey of Jail Inmates, p. 2.

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33. Ronald Goldfarb, "Prison: The National Poorhouse," The New Republic 161 (November 1969): 16.

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35. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. v.

36. Erik Olin Wright, The Politics of Punishment: A Critical Analysis of Prisons in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 25-29.

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38. Index crimes also include murder, rape and aggravated assault, and are considered by the FBI to be the most serious offenses for which persons are arrested annually.

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40. Wright, pp. 28-30. There are indications law enforcement is currently paying more attention to white collar crime. For example, the California Attorney General "says he wants to make it more likely that corporate polluters and other white collar criminals go to prison." ("Deukmejian Seeks: White Collar Crime Crackdown," Santa Cruz Sentinel, (January, 1980): 7).

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II

PRISONER PROFILE

The following profile of women in the San Francisco County Jail provides an opportunity to relate theories and national patterns of incarceration of women to a specific group of women prisoners. The women interviewed had been convicted of misdemeanors, and were serving county jail sentences of up to one year. Over a seven month period, 68 women were interviewed, and 66 of the interviews were analyzed as part of the prisoner profile.

Many of the items used in the inmate questionnaire had been developed and used as part of the National Study of Women's Correctional Programs, hereafter referred to as the National Study.[1] Where applicable, the San Francisco data is compared to national findings. It is important to note that the National Study includes women in state prisons, as well as county jails, in 14 states. The inmate sample of the National Study reflects a larger (sample size = 1,607) and a more heterogeneous group in terms of geography, educational attainment, social class, prior employment, and criminal status. Nevertheless, many of the findings are similar. Where there are marked differences between National and San Francisco data, these differences are noted, and hypotheses are offered to account for them. One major difference was the high proportion of women imprisoned locally for prostitution, compared to California and National findings.

The interview sessions ranged in length from 45 minutes to an hour and a half. Frequently the structured questions would prompt observations and discussions which added depth to the interview data. Notes taken on these discussions formed a separate data base, as did other informal discussions occurring during observation of daily life, and contact with some of the women after they were released from jail.

Race

The overrepresentation of blacks in jails and prisons documented in the previous chapter can be seen in the local criminal justice process. Black women are overrepresented at every stage. A 1978 study revealed

that while black women constituted 14.4% of the city population of San Francisco, 39.9% of the women booked into jail on arrest, and 47% of those convicted and sentenced to jail terms were black.[2]

Half of the women in the present study were black; they were the largest racial group. Slightly less than one quarter of the women were white (22.7%). The remaining women were from various ethnic and racial groups: Hispanic 10.6%, Asian 6.1%, and Native American 6.1%. Some women, mostly of mixed racial backgrounds, categorized themselves as "Other," 4.5%.

TABLE 1 Race/Ethnicity of Interviewed Sample

Ethnicity	Number	Percent
White	15	22.7%
Black	33	50.0%
Hispanic	7	10.6%
Asian	4	6.1%
Native American	4	6.1%
Other	3	4.5%
TOTAL	66	100%

There were striking differences between black and white women in many areas, including education, family structure, past and present socioeconomic conditions, and notably, in the kinds of offenses for which they were convicted and the length of time they were sentenced to serve. While these two racial groups were not totally homogeneous, they can be characterized in ways that the women from other minority groups in the jail, because of their small numbers, cannot be characterized. Also, the Asian category included both Japanese and Hawaiian women, and the Hispanic category included Puerto Rican and Central American women as well as women of Spanish descent.

The typical white woman incarcerated in the jail was in her late twenties, a high school graduate, and had been convicted of prostitution, for which she was serving a sentence of 45 days. She was separated or

divorced from her husband. The care, and often custody, of her children had been taken over by her parents or ex-husband when she was arrested or jailed before. She was likely to have problems with the abuse of drugs and/or alcohol, and to be isolated from her children and family. She expected no help from them when she was released from jail. Often, the only person she would be able to turn to when she got out of jail was a boyfriend who was a heavy drug user, her pimp, or a trick (a former customer).

The typical black woman in the jail was younger, in her early twenties. She had left school in the eleventh grade, and was serving a sentence of between three and six months for a property crime (i.e., theft, receiving stolen property, credit card forgery). She was more likely to have had her children with her before she was arrested, and to have lived with, or been in close contact with her family. She expected her family to help her with continued chilcare (usually her mother or another relative cared for the children during her incarceration), and a place to stay when she was released. She did not expect her family to help her get a job, and she was less likely to have ever had a job than her white counterpart. Perhaps because she was younger than her white counterpart, and less estranged from the community in which she had grown up, she was more hopeful and less fatalistic about her future.

Where racial differences appear significant, they will be addressed in the appropriate section, for instance in education and offense sections.

Age

The mean, or average age of the women was 26.8 years. The average age of women misdemeanants surveyed in the National Study was nearly three years less. A likely explanation is that younger women in San Francisco (under 24) are more likely to be diverted to an alternative program than to be sent to jail. Overall, there were more women under 30 in the jail at San Bruno than in the institutions surveyed in the National Study. Nearly 80% of the women in the San Bruno jail were under 30, while approximately 65% of all the incarcerated women in the

National Study were under 30.[3]

TABLE #2 Age Grouping of Interviewed Sample

Age Group	Number	Percent
20 or less	8	12.1%
21 - 24	16	24.2%
25 - 29	28	42.5%
30 - 34	9	13.6%
35 - 39	3	4.5%
40 - 44	-0-	-----
45 - 49	-0-	-----
50 and above	2	3.0%
TOTAL	66	99.9%*

Range: 18 - 52 Mean: 26.8 Mode: 22.0

Median: 26.3 Standard Deviation: 6.26

(Measures of central tendency calculated on un-grouped data)

* Does not equal 100% due to rounding

Marital Status

Very few women in the jail are married. Only 10.6% reported legal marriages, compared to 66.7% of women in the general population.[4] Nearly twice as many women in the National Study were married, which is consistent with the finding in that report that marital status was age-related, and with the fact that there were more women 30 and over in that study. Younger women are more likely to be single or in a nonmarried relationship, while older women are more likely to be married, separated, or divorced.

TABLE #3 Marital Status of Interviewed Sample

Status	Number	Percent
Single	29	43.9%
Legally married	7	10.6%
Common-law	6	9.1%
Separated/divorced	23	34.8%
Widowed	1	1.5%
TOTAL	66	99.9%*

* Does not equal 100% due to rounding

Black and Asian women, who were younger than average, were more likely to be single. White women, who were older, were most likely to be divorced. All the women who reported being legally married were black or white.

While marital status is a demographic fact, its significance can easily be overestimated. One reason is that it is not usually an accurate description of either the current de facto status or of a woman's living arrangement. For instance, several women who reported legal or common-law marriages also noted that though they were not legally separated, they had been living alone or in serial relationships. This was the case for at least three of the seven legally married women. Also, over one fifth of all the women reported that they were living with a boyfriend; these same women also reported themselves to be single, legally married, common-law married, or separated. What may be safely said is that age and racial norms had influenced the number of women who at one time had been married. Seventy-three percent of the white women had been married at some time; this was the case for only 33% of the black women.

While it may be the case in the general population that a woman may benefit economically from a married or living-together arrangement because discrimination in the job market gives more economic resources to men, the reverse may be true for many women in this group. Very few of the women are involved with men who have stable jobs and incomes. The job market is extremely difficult to enter for both men and women without a good education, skills or connections. Also, racial discrimination results in a higher rate of unemployment for young black men and women than for other groups.

Issues about the economics of relationships emerged from some of the discussions and follow-up interviews. When a couple pools money from illegal activities, for general expenses or to buy drugs, this may threaten, rather than enhance, the stability of man-woman relationships. One woman who worked as a prostitute said that while her boyfriend often offered to "go out and do something" (i.e., robbery, fraud), she preferred to work to support them herself because, "I knew that I could go out and get it just like that, and I'd be right back. If I got

caught, I wouldn't get but maybe 30, 60, 90 days, but if he got busted doing something, he'd get anywhere from a year on up." Weighing against her emotional attachment was the fact that the relationship limited her ability to make and spend money. A woman who has relatively easy and regular access to money through prostitution may be able to operate better on her own in economic terms. Conflicts between emotional and economic needs present problems which are often different from those of middle class women.

Many studies of women offenders lament their "dependence." This catch-all phrase is often used to imply an entwined financial/emotional dependence on men. However, discussions with the women suggest that they are more likely to be financially independent, or supporting a man. The interplay between economic and emotional "dependence" needs careful investigation. Some prostitutes appear, in fact, to exercise a measure of control by treating and supporting a "gigolo-pimp" (a term used in Sweden to clarify the role). The ability to purchase sexual companionship is reversed, just as the role of the breadwinner is reversed.[5]

Children

Most of the women interviewed (82%) were mothers of children less than 18 years of age. The following discussion of children will refer only to those 18 and under. This cut-off point was used in this, as well as the National Study, because it is children in this age group who are dependent on the mother's or another adult's care. Race was not a significant factor in whether or not a woman had a child. Women who had had children were, on average, three years older than women who had not.

Most women had one or two children; half of the women who had borne a child had one child, 22.2% had two children, 18.5% had three, and 9.3% had four children. While children ranged in age from three months to 16 years, 67.9% were between two and 10 years old.

Fewer than half of the women who had children were living with one or more of them before the mother was put in jail (42.6%). By contrast, the National Study found that 75% of the women who had children had one or more living with them before they were incarcerated. That study's

finding that prior incarceration doubled the incidence of children not being with the mother probably explains why so many of the women in county jail did not have their children with them. Only 7.5% of the women in the jail had not been arrested prior to this incarceration. Most had experienced repeated disruptions, including arrests, evictions, heavy drug use, and stays in residential drug programs, as well as prior stays in jail. The National Study showed that both unsentenced women and felons were less likely than misdemeanants to have served sentence time before the current incarceration.

Race appears to be an important factor in whether or not a woman had her child(ren) with her before she was put in jail. Of women who had children, the following were caring for one or more before arrest:

Whites	15.0%
Blacks	57.0%
Other Minority	46.6%

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, white women who were not caring for their children were usually denied any contact with them, while black women had more flexible childcare arrangements which allowed for partial or shared childcare, as well as close contact when the child was being cared for by others. As was observed in the National Study, white women with children are likely not to be living with them, which is divergent from the white "ideal" of husband, wife and children living together, while black women who are incarcerated are less divergent because black women in general are more likely to live with children but without a husband.

Living Arrangements

The most common arrangement for a woman was to be living alone (22.7%), or with a man (21.2%), without children. Those women that did live with their children were more likely to be living with parents or other relatives (15.2%) than either with a man and children, or with only children.

The common stereotype of a "woman offender" as a single mother struggling to raise her children alone clearly does not fit this group of women. Of the 82% who had children under 18, only 12.9% were living

alone with their children. Of the smaller group of all women who lived with their children in any arrangement, fewer than one third (30.4%) of the group did so alone.

Black and other minority women who had children living with them differed in their living arrangements. Blacks were more likely to live with a parent or other relative and children, while other minority women were more likely to live with just their children. In most cases where grandparents or other relatives had taken a major or shared responsibility for children before a woman was incarcerated, there was a continuity of care which was satisfactory to the mother.

These findings imply that childcare problems would be less of an obstacle for white women who might want to go to work or go to school when released, since they are usually not living with their children, than they would be for women of other races. For black and other minority women, childcare is usually a potential problem. The living and childcare arrangements that a woman makes for her children after her release significantly affect her financial needs and the time available to her to devote to studies or a job. Even those women who live with their children and relatives or other adults often do not have the stable, consistent childcare arrangements that would allow them to keep to a regular work or school schedule.

The disruption of the mother-child relationship has become a major concern of those seeking to help incarcerated women. Attention to the needs and wants of women who have already experienced separation from their children and who may choose alternate arrangements is most important. It may be that reinforcing the primacy of the mother-child bond is not as appropriate as helping all women with children to find out what is happening to their children and developing plans that benfit parents, children, and other caretakers.

Some women face complicated problems concerning the care and custody of their children. Often they can do nothing but worry while they are in jail. The spotty legal assistance provided by public defenders and jail caseworkers is often not adequate.[6]

Family Backgrounds: Parents' Education

By looking at data on parents' education and employment we can get a sense of the economic and social roles they occupied while the women were growing up. The parents' own school and job experiences affected, it can be assumed, the possibilities that they saw for their children and the ways in which they raised them. Also, the roles they played as adults helped form their children's impressions of what was desirable and achievable. There is a striking, if not totally unexpected, difference in educational levels between the black and white women interviewed in this study. Proportionately more white women had completed high school than had black or other minority women (see page 49). One writer has suggested that blacks often reject academic competition with whites in part because such efforts have traditionally not brought them equal social and occupational rewards. In Minority Education and Caste, John Ogbu suggests that black parents, recognizing that success in school has not led to rewards for blacks in terms of jobs, income and prestige, do not reinforce in their childrearing, behaviors which lead to success in school.[7]

The assessment that for blacks, educational success does not lead to social mobility, contrasts with a broadly-held belief that formal education is intended to equalize black and white status. While an evaluation of the school system is outside the scope of this study, it is important to identify its responsibility for school failure among blacks. Just as parents are affected in their child rearing practices by the opportunities they see for their children, and raise them accordingly, the educational system prepares minority children for the lower status positions they are expected to occupy.

The term which Ogbu uses for the barrier which keeps blacks out of desirable jobs because of their race (or caste status, as he defines it) is the "job ceiling." The occupations above the job ceiling, which are predominantly white, include: professionals and technicians, managers, officials and proprietors, clerical, sales and kindred workers, and skilled craftspeople and forepersons. The occupations below the job ceiling, to which blacks are basically restricted, include: semi-skilled workers, personal and domestic service workers, common laborers, and farm laborers.

Ogbu's thesis is that race, rather than education and job skills, is the basic criterion which determines access to jobs above the job ceiling.[8]

It was expected that the women would have been influenced, in their attitudes towards education nad in their achievement, by the educational experience of their parents. The fact that so many women did not know how far their parents had gone in school suggests that it had not been an important factor in their own education. Over 40 percent (42.4%) of the women did not know how much education their fathers had received, and 36.4% did not know how much education their mothers had received. The fact that many parents (particularly black parents) were not in the home does not adequately explain the women's lack of knowledge about their parents' education. In some cases, even where parents were in the home, their children were unaware. Most women (86.3%) grew up with their mothers in the home, and yet only 63.6% knew how long their mothers had stayed in school.

By comparison, women were far more likely to know their parents' occupation, whether or not they lived with them. Only 22.7% of the women did not know what their father's occupation had been while they were growing up; only 7.5% did not know their mother's occupation. It appears that what a parent did to support the family was of more immediate relevance than his or her educational background.

The percent of black and other minority women who did not know their mother's or father's educational level exceeded the percentage in both cases of white women who did not know, and was greater than the existence of single-parent families alone would lead one to expect. This may mean that the education that minority parents had received was not thought to be, or in fact was not, particularly relevant to the kinds of jobs that they held. It may also mean that these parents did not see education as a means to good jobs, income, and heightened social status. In either case, such information might be taken into account by those planning education programs for black youth.

Of those fathers whose educational level was known, 63% had either completed high school or had gone beyond high school to college or vocational training. This figure is the same as the national average

for adult males.[9]

TABLE #4 Father's Education

Education Level	Number	Percent
Fourth grade or less	3	7.9%
Fifth to eighth	6	15.8%
Ninth to eleventh	6	15.8%
High school graduate	10	26.3%
Post high school training	2	5.3%
Some college	2	5.3%
College graduate	9	23.7%
TOTAL	38*	100.1%**

* Missing data = 28

** Does not equal 100% due to rounding

It should be remembered that the above constitutes only 57.6% of all fathers; the educational levels of the rest were not known.

Some racial differences emerged. Of fathers whose educational levels were known, the breakdown of those who had completed high school or beyond, by race, was: white 61.5%, black 50.1%, other minority 72.7%. The percent of "unknowns" by race was white 13%, black 57%, and other minority 38.8%

According to census data, the percentage of all black males, 25 years of age and above, who had at the least completed high school was 43.3% as of 1975, compared to the 50.1% listed above.

It seems clear that social class also plays a major role in this culture in the kind of education that people receive and in the jobs that they hold. However, this study has not yielded the kind of data (e.g.: income and other indicators) that allows us to speak with certainty about the social class of the families in which the women grew up. The data does allow us to look at the education of parents, by sex and race, which in itself adds to our understanding of the milieu in which the

women were raised. Also, we can look at employment of parents, which provides information about available role models. Lastly, we can look at the relationship in the lives of the parents between the education they received and the kinds of jobs they held. According to Ogbu's thesis, this relationship between education and opportunities for jobs and social mobility is different for blacks and whites in this society. The present inquiry is limited by the small sample size and some missing data in the area of parents' education.

Family Backgrounds: Parents' Employment

Over 77% of the women reported an occupation in which their fathers had been employed while they were growing up. The remainder had fathers who died when they were young, or whose occupation they did not know (some because their father was absent from the home). Definitions for the occupational categories below are presented in the Appendix B. In order to make this data comparable, the occupational categories were borrowed from the National Study. According to this system, for example, computer programmer is a skilled occupation and elementary school principal is semi-professional.

TABLE #5 Father's Occupation

Occupation Category	Number	Percent
Unskilled	7	13.7%
Semi-skilled	13	25.5%
Skilled	6	11.8%
Clerical	3	5.9%
Sales	1	1.9%
Semi-professional	7	13.7%
Professional	7	13.7%
Manager	5	9.8%
Mostly unemployed	2	3.9%
TOTAL	51*	99.9%**

* Missing data = 15
** Does not equal 100% due to rounding

When these occupations are divided into the two major categories, above and below the job ceiling, the proportions are as follows:

Below the job ceiling	39.2%
Above the job ceiling	56.8%
Mostly unemployed	3.9%

The differences between races, in occupational level, was pronounced:

TABLE #6 Father's Job Ceiling Level Breakdown By Race/ Ethnicity by Percentage of Ethnicity Groupings

Level	White	Black	Other Minority
Below job ceiling	7.1%	50.0%	33.3%
Above job ceiling	85.7%	45.5%	66.7%
Unemployed	7.1%	4.5%	-----

White fathers, no matter what their level of education, were likely to work at jobs above the job ceiling. Black fathers were nearly equally likely to work above or below the job ceiling. The large number for whom education was not known makes it difficult to draw, with certainty, a conclusion about the relationship between education and jobs, but the information that is available suggests that race is as important as education in determining the kinds of jobs that adult males hold. (One black woman, both of whose parents had finished high school, noted that her father had had to take unskilled work in a rice mill because he could get nothing else, even though his education was superior to most blacks' in the South at that time. She was very proud of her mother, who had been a high school teacher.)

With allowance for the number of other minority males whose education was not known, it seems to be the case that they were not working at jobs above the job ceiling in numbers commensurate with their education. With a larger sample, using such an educational breakdown as those who had not graduated high school, high school graduates, and college graduates, would provide a more refined test of Ogbu's thesis.

Of all mothers whose education was known, 47.6% had graduated from high school or gotten education beyond high school. This is less than

the national average of 62% of all adult women at that level.[10]

TABLE #7 Mother's Education

Education Level	Number	Percent
Fourth grade or less	4	9.5%
Fifth to eighth	12	28.6%
Ninth to eleventh	6	14.3%
High school graduate	12	28.6%
Some college	1	2.4%
Two years of college	3	7.1%
College graduate	4	9.5%
TOTAL	42*	100%

* Missing data = 24

When compared to fathers, more mothers had left school between fifth and eighth grade, and fewer had completed or gone beyond high school. Black and white women's educational attainment was more similar than was that of the men:

TABLE #8 Dichotomization of Parents' Education

	FATHER		MOTHER		TOTAL	
Level	Number	(Percent)	Number	(Percent)	Number	(Percent)
Below high school	15	(39.5%)	22	(52.4%)	37	(46.3%)
High school graduate or better	23	(60.5%)	20	(47.6%)	43	(53.7%)
TOTAL	38		42		80*	

* Missing data = 52

The mothers' occupations were as follows:

Table #9 Mother's Occupation

Occupation Category	Number	Percent
Personal services	7	11.5%
Unskilled	17	27.9%
Semi-skilled	2	3.3%
Clerical	3	4.9%
Semi-professional	2	3.3%
Professional	8	13.1%
Houseperson	21	34.4%
Mostly unemployed	1	1.6%
TOTAL	61*	100%

* Missing data = 5

See Appendix B for explanation of occupational categories. The categories of homemaker and mostly unemployed may not be discrete categories. The cultural expectation twenty years ago, when most of the women were growing up, was that a mother with small children should not work unless it was economically necessary. This was particularly true for white families where there was no pattern of extended family care for the children. However, many women were forced by economic need to look for work, and it is not possible to tell from the data whether those listed as homemakers chose not to work, or were forced into that category because they were unable to find work.

When only mothers for whom an occupation outside the home was given are considered, it becomes clear that the majority of women who worked were in either personal services (17.9%) or unskilled labor (43.6%). There was substantial variation by race in whether or not the mothers had worked. The fact that white mothers were most likely not to have worked and to have lived with a spouse suggests that they may have defined themselves as homemakers, rather than as unemployed.

Women of all races, when they were employed, worked at jobs below the job ceiling twice as often as at jobs above the job ceiling. Discrimination faced by all women in the job market, racial discrimination against black women, cultural sanctions against mothers who worked, and

the comparatively low proportion of women who had graduated from high school or gone beyond, offer partial explanations for the employment pattern of mothers.

It does not appear that a parallel test of Ogbu's thesis about the relation between education and occupation is appropriate for women, given the special circumstances that affect them, i.e., childrearing. (Other problems in applying the job ceiling concept to women's employment will be discussed in the section on the jobs held by women in the sample.) For the mothers, the amount of education they had had little to do with whether or not they worked, or the kind of job they had. While race, rather than education appeared to be a major factor in the kinds of jobs the fathers had, in the mothers' case, it was a major factor in whether or not they worked at all.

Relatively few mothers had education beyond high school, and only 19.1% of the women in the sample had mothers who had worked at jobs other than personal services or unskilled. For those who had worked, common occupations were maid, housekeeper, factory worker, and nurse's aide. Few mothers could have served as positive role models, showing their daughters, by example, the benefits of education and the resulting rewarding work available to women. Comments the women made about the efforts their mothers had made to support them did reveal gratitude and admiration. One black woman told how her mother had received assistance for several years, then had worked in a laundry for twenty years, always making sure that they had what they needed and never wanted for anything.

Family Backgrounds: Welfare Experience

Over one third of the women (36.9%) had received welfare when they were growing up. White women were significantly less likely to have received welfare (significance level of .05) than were other women. The percentages who had received welfare when growing up, by race, were:

White	13.0%
Black	56.3%
Other minority	25.0%

We can assume that, as adults, the women were far more likely to have received welfare at some point than they had been as children. At one point in time, the period immediately prior to arrest, 50% were receiving welfare (including a few receiving Social Security Disability Benefits as drug addicts). By race, the percentages of women in the interview sample who were receiving welfare when arrested were:

White	26.6%
Black	60.0%
Other minority	50.0%

Half of the white and other minority women appear to have moved, as adults, to a lower socioeconomic status than they had occupied as children.

Current Relationship with Family

While a sizable percent of the black women (33%), and a smaller percent of other minority women (16%), had lived with parents or other relatives prior to their arrest, this was the case for none of the white women in the sample. The fact that white women were older than most of the black and many of the minority women may partially explain this difference. A more reasonable, though not complete, explanation is that patterns of extended family living arrangements are generally not as common among whites in this culture as among blacks and some other minority groups. Many of the white women said that they had been rejected by their families because of their lifestyle in general (one woman said it was because she had black boyfriends, others mentioned drug problems), or because they had been arrested. A study of prostitution, which is the offense for which most of the white women in the jail were arrested, showed that many women who worked as prostitutes had run away from homes in which they were sexually abused and/or beaten.[11] Estrangement from parents and other relatives is further indicated by the following information.

Contact with Family

Those who work with inmates of jails and prisons have commonly found that contact with the family while a person is incarcerated is a

significant factor in that person's chances for success after release. Before they were arrested, most women were in contact with their families. Eighty-six percent of the women who had families were in contact with them, though the frequency varied from as little as once or twice a year to daily (white women had less frequent contact than did other women). While blacks and whites were not in contact with family in as great numbers as were other minority women, the differences were not significant. Since they had been incarcerated, the percentage of women in contact with their families had decreased to 66%. At this point, racial differences emerged as quite significant (at the .001 level):

71% of whites reported no contact with family
86% of blacks reported contact with family
61% of other minority women reported contact with family

Family Help After Release

Fewer than half of the women (41.9%) expected that their families would help them after they were released. Those who felt that their families would help them were nearly all black or other minority women (92.3%). The difference between white and nonwhite women was significant at the .01 level. Black women most often expected that their families would help them on release; often, a grandmother caring for children was expected to continue to do so. Women most frequently expected that their parents would provide a place to stay and care for children. They expected help in the form of money or clothes less frequently. Of 53 expected offers of help reported, only three were offers to help the woman get a job, which was mentioned frequently as the thing women most wanted and needed. While families were willing to help, they often could not provide the kind of help that the women needed to become economically stable and independent.

Educational Attainment of Women in Study

Educational levels in the women's jail span a wide range -- some few women have only an elementary school education while others have had from one to four semesters of college. The largest number of women are high school leavers; fewer than half of the women interviewed had graduated from high school. It is this large group of women who will be

the focus of attention, though it is worth noting that the apparently high percent of women (22.8%), who have had some college education is gneerally consistent with the high educational level throughout the state.

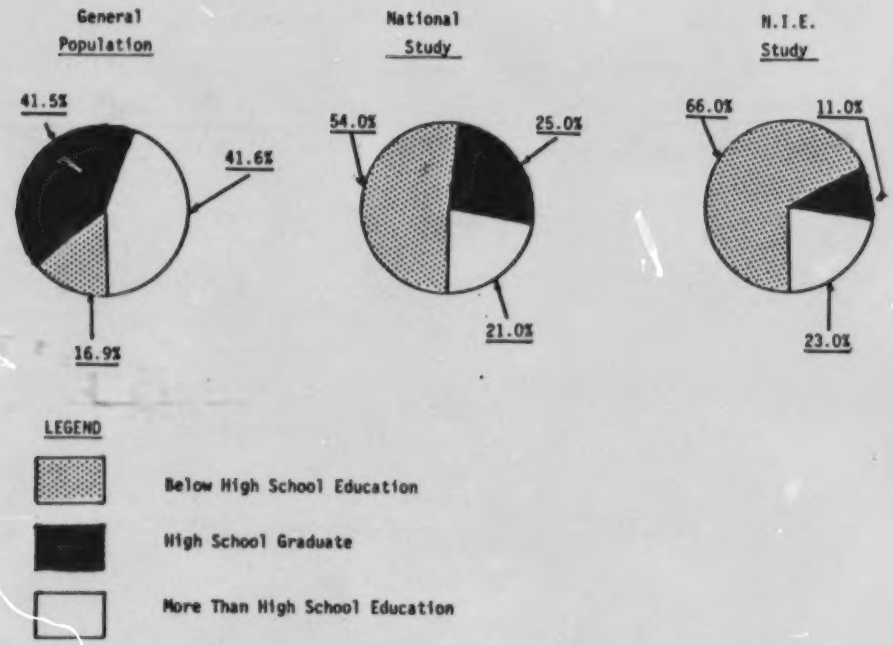
At a time when most women in their twenties are high school graduates, and nearly half (41.6% as of the 1975 Census) have some college education, the fact that the majority of the women interviewed had not completed high school puts them at a considerable disadvantage.[12] Only 12% of the women had no more than an elementary school education. Of the 66% who had not completed high school, most had completed between the ninth and eleventh grades (54.5%). Incomplete data suggests that close to one quarter of those high school leavers began, but did not complete, the last year of high school.

TABLE #10 Level of Education Completed At Time of Arrest

Education Level	Number	Percent
Fourth grade or less	1	1.5%
Fifth to eighth	7	10.6%
Ninth to eleventh	36	54.5%
High school graduate (GED)	7	10.6%
Some college	11	16.7%
Two years of college	4	6.1%
TOTAL	66	100%

While census data for women in the general population is not exactly comparable, the age group 25-29 (1975 Census)[13] is used in the following illustration to give a general context for comparing the educational attainment of incarcerated women with that of other women. In both the National Study and the jail data, over half of the women do not have high school diplomas or the equivalent.

FIGURE #1 Comparison of Education Level Completed in the General Population of U.S. Women with National Study and Interviewed Sample



It is likely that this difference is reflective of the differences between an inner city misdemeanant population and the more varied population, in terms of geography, social class, and criminal status, than is found in state prisons.

Of those women in the jail who had less than a high school diploma, 20% had begun, but not completed, a GED program. An additional 11% went to a community college or private school, but did not get a degree or high school diploma. Therefore, 31% had resumed academic education. If the women who had left high school, but got an equivalency diploma or certificate later are included in this group, then over one-third of all

women who had left high school later resumed their education. This indicates that they had not given up on education, as does the fact that many women mentioned education in their plans for the future.

It would be incorrect to presume that those at the upper end of the educational level in Table #10 are equipped with an education that would allow them to find decent, well-paying jobs. For one thing, three-quarters of those who had been to college had completed less than two years. For another, as Lillian Rubin points out in her study of working class families, statistics about college education "make no distinction between one school and another, the quality of education received there, and the opportunities for mobility they offer."[14] One white woman in the present study asked, sarcastically, referring to her two years as a psychology major at a city college, "What does it prepare you for? To be a waitress or a salesclerk?" (She was planning, on release, to investigate the possibilities for training as a psychiatric technician. The facts that she had been addicted to heroin prior to her incarceration, and that she feared that her parents, who were taking care of her child, were trying to take custody of the child from her, presented probable obstacles to her carrying out her educational and career plans.)

Educational Attainment by Race

One of the most striking facts about educational attainment was the variation by race. Of those who had completed eleventh grade or less, 86.4% were black or other minority, and 13.6% were white. By racial group, the percent who had completed eleventh grade or less was:

Black	72.7%
White	40.0%
Other minority	77.8%

TABLE #11 Dichotomization of Education of Interviewed Sample by Race/Ethnicity

	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER MINORITY		TOTAL	
Level	Number	(Percent)	Number	(Percent)	Number	(Percent)	Number	(Percent)
Below high school	6	(40.0%)	24	(72.7%)	14	(77.8%)	44	(66.7%)
High school graduate or better	9	(60.0%)	9	(27.3%)	4	(22.2%)	22	(33.3%)
TOTAL	15		33		18		66	

This variation was greater between women in the jail of different races than it had been for their parents. The white women in the jail had graduated high school or gone beyond in numbers roughly equivalent to their fathers, and were better educated than were their mothers. Fewer black women had graduated high school or gone beyond than was the case for either parent.

There was a dramatic decline in educational levels between women of other minorities and their parents; 21.6% of the women had completed high school or gone beyond, compared to 72.7% of their fathers and 60.0% of their mothers. The small numbers, differences between minority groups, and missing data make it difficult to hazard reasons for this apparent decline. From open-ended discussions, it appeared that rebellion against parental pressures to succeed was related to estrangement from family, juvenile criminal charges, and lack of completion of education in several cases. From comments that women made, it appears that these types of pressures were more likely to come from Native American and Asian families than from Hispanic families. Hispanic women in the jail were most likely to have only an elementary school education, and least likely of all racial groups to have high school degrees or above. In this, they were similar to their mothers.

Black women who had left high school constituted nearly one-third (31.8%) of all the women interviewed in the jail. Two-thirds of the black women in the jail had left high school without graduating. Comments from women who had left school indicate that they felt both that the schools were inadequate ("just repeated the previous year's material," "boring," "did nothing for black children in those days"), and that at that point in their lives, they were not interested in education.

Vocational Training

Most of the women interviewed had received some kind of vocational training (74.2%). Some of them had gotten some training in high school, as well as at a community college or a trade school or program. The places that women received vocational training were, as follows:

High School	30%
Other community institution	53%
Prison or youth facility	3%

(The places that women reported receiving training exceeded the number of women who said they had gotten vocational training because some had taken multiple training.)

Most of the high school vocational courses were in typically female occupations. The bulk of the women who had vocational courses in high school learned office skills (85%). Other skills learned in high school included retail sales, nurse's aide, and banking. It should be remembered that a good number of the women did not complete high school, so that they did not have a full vocational training program, or a high school diploma.

Women who received training outside of high school pursued the following major vocations:

Cosmetology	16.6%
Health care*	27.0%
Clerical/business	30.0%
Trades	13.0%

Other training was in hotel cleaning, general skills (English/Math/Typing), and job-hunting. Women received training in the following places: private schools of cosmetology, business and medical arts; community, junior, and four-year colleges; skills training programs; juvenile and adult prisons; and on the job.

Slightly fewer than half (47.2%) of the women who had received vocational training outside of high school had used the skill they had acquired to make a living. More women who had taken training in the trades and in health care occupations had used their skills in a related job than had women who had taken clerical or cosmetology courses. Clerical and cosmetology training were not likely to be on-the-job-training (OJT), while health care and trades training was often OJT, which may account for the difference. In some cases, training had been interrupted temporarily or permanently by incarceration, drug addiction, or childbirth.

The only training available in the jail, other than sewing, was typing (see Chapter IV). Bureaucratic and personnel constraints prevented the women from sharing the job skills that they did have. Two women mentioned to the researchers that they had good shorthand

*Includes LVN, nurse's aide, dental assistant.

skills and wanted to teach them to other women, but could not because there would be no one to supervise the class.

In sum, while many women had typing or other office skills, which were often rusty from lack of use since high school classes, some had training in low-paid health care occupations, and some women had all or a portion of a trade course completed, few (25.7%) who had ever received any training had actually used the skills in a job.

Employment

For many of the women in the jail, the world of legitimate work has long been beyond reasonable expectation. The skills, the behaviors, the money necessary to make an acceptable presentation in the straight business world, and, most importantly, the access to a job are all scarce commodities. For some, a summer job they had held before dropping out of high school was the only straight job they had ever held. Intermittent contact with the straight world through low-paid, short-term jobs and training programs for high school dropouts have given many women little reason to believe that they will get interesting work, economic stability, and the material rewards of "the good life" through straight employment. By and large, these women have a very low rate of participation in the labor force (which is not to say that they don't work; rather their work is not considered legitimate, and is therefore not included in employment statistics).

Sixty percent of the women had not held jobs for more than two years. When asked what type of job they had held for the longest period of time, 18.2% replied "none." Only 10.6% of the women had been working at legitimate jobs when arrested (this includes both part and full-time employment). Twice as many (21.2%) reported having worked in the three month period prior to their arrests. If this figure were adjusted to include prostitution in the "personal service" category, as was done in the National Study, the employment rate of the women in the jail would equal the 45% reported in that study (or perhaps slightly exceed it). For comparison purposes, 21.2% of the women in the jail had worked at straight jobs prior to incarceration, while the National Study reported that at the time it was conducted (1975), the percent of all non-incarcerated women who were working was 41%.

Kinds of Jobs

Since so few women were employed at straight jobs at the time of arrest, attention here is directed to the kind of job women had held the longest. Even this category should be approached with caution. For some women, one job held for a few months over five years ago constituted the type of job held longest, but should not be considered a long-term job or occupation. The majority of jobs held the longest fell into three major categories:

Personal services	27.2%
Clerical	25.7%
Unskilled	15.0%

(As noted above, 18.2% had replied "none," making that the third largest category.) Personal services, which in this case excludes sexual services, does include a wide variety of jobs, food services, childcare, and cosmetology, among others. The unskilled category is expanded beyond the census definitions to include maid and laundry work. Twelve percent of the women had held professional or semi-professional jobs.

TABLE #12 Jobs Held Longest

	Number	Percent
Personal Services	18	27.3
Unskilled	10	15.2
Semi-Skilled	2	3.0
Skilled	2	3.0
Clerical	17	25.8
Semi-Professional	4	6.1
Manager	1	1.5
Mostly Unemployed	12	18.2
	N = 66	100.1*

*Due to rounding

Incarcerated women, as shown by the data in this study, as well as the National Study, are more likely than women in the general population to have worked in unskilled and personal service jobs. The following figures compare the percent of women who are working in these two job categories:

General population (1970 Census)	22.0%
National Study women	42.4%
Women in Interview Sample	51.8%

As the National Study figure does include prostitution, a comparable figure for the local population would be far higher than 51.8%.)

As noted previously, the job ceiling concept is not very useful in categorizing the kinds of jobs held by women in the jail. Most of the women in the jail who had held jobs above the job ceiling had held low-level clerical jobs such as clerk typist, cashier, switchboard operator, and hotel desk clerk. These jobs did not have the pay, prestige, or job security that Ogbu ascribes to "white" jobs above the job ceiling. Most women who work at clerical jobs work in sex-segregated occupations for low pay. Since so many women who do work above the job ceiling have jobs in which the conditions and pay are far inferior to the sex-segregated jobs (particularly semi-professional and professional jobs) held by men, the job ceiling as presently defined is not very useful in understanding women's work, or in comparing it to men's. A more useful dichotomy might be developed using the characteristics of the job as criteria. One such division, which has been used in analysis of the labor market, is that of the primary and secondary labor markets. This system distinguishes between jobs which are characterized by low pay, high turnover and little chance for advancement with those that offer stability, worker protection and career ladders.

Employment by Race

White women were more likely to have worked than were black or other minority women. The percentages of women who have never worked, by race, were:

White	6.6%
Black	18.1%
Other minority	27.0%

As previously noted, white women were more likely to have had more education and to have been older than most non-white women (particularly black and Asian women). In the National Study, it was found that age was related to having worked; fewer young women had worked.

The kinds of jobs that women had held differed by race. White women worked in personal service or unskilled jobs more often than did non-white women. While the proportion of black women who had never worked was

higher than that for white women, when black women had worked, the kinds of jobs they held most often were clerical. Level of educational attainment was not important here; black women without high school diplomas held clerical or semi-professional jobs as frequently as personal service, unskilled, or semi-skilled jobs. (This may be because a number of black women received skills training after having left high school without a diploma.)

Women in the jail had worked in greater numbers than their mothers. While the mothers had predominantly held unskilled jobs (i.e., maid, laundry work), their daughters had most frequently worked in clerical and personal service (personal attendant, bartender) jobs.

Women who had never worked were younger than average, with an average age of 24.8, and a modal age of 22. Fewer Asians, who were the youngest racial group, had worked than women of other races.

Education and Having Worked

A direct, positive correlation between education and work experience was found in the National Study. In this sample of women in jail, there was a relationship between having graduated high school and having worked (86.3% of high school graduates had worked, while 79.5% of non-graduates had worked). However, the limited size of the sample, and the fact that over half of the women had left high school, mkaes it difficult to make finer discriminations in the amount of education in relation to work experience.

In this study, women with at least high school diplomas worked, for the most part, in blue collar (particularly personal service) jobs, and not in clerical, semi-professional or professional jobs. Women with less than a high school diploma worked more frequently in clerical jobs than did women with high school diplomas. (As stated before, this may be related to race and skill training unaccompanied by a high school diploma.)

Offenses

Information on previous arrests and jail sentences, as well as on current charges and sentencing, was recorded as part of the inmate interviews.

Arrest Histories

Nearly all the women in the study (91%) reported that they had been arrested at least one time before the arrest that led to their incarceration. Diversion to an alternative program,dismissal of charges, or conviction with no jail sentence, are the usual results of a first misdemeanor arrest. Almost half the women (46%) had been arrested from 1-5 times, including juvenile arrests. Thirty-five percent had been arrested 6-20 times, and 19% reported that they had been arrested more than 20 times. Those with the most arrests had often been booked repeatedly on "nuisance" charges (such as loitering, drunkeness, and disorderly conduct) related to alcohol and prostitution.

Because a relatively few women reported very high numbers of arrests, the most representative figure is the median, or midpoint of 6 arrests per woman. White women averaged 15, black women 13, and other women 9 arrests each. It is possible that these differences could be accounted for by both the differences in ages between the groups, and a greater frequency of arrests on minor prostitution-related charges such as loitering for white women.

Close to 60% of the women had first been arrested at age 18 or younger. There was a significant difference in age at first arrest between white women and all other women. The average white woman was first arrested at 22, versus 18 for other women (significance .01 level). Arrest histories spanning 5-10 years were not unusual.

Prior Incarceration

Sixty-four percent of the women had previously served county jail time. The average woman was serving her third sentence (3.06) at the time of interview. The average for whites was 3.60, for blacks 2.69, and for other women 3.28.

Complete offense data on prior arrests and incarcerations was not recorded. However, the criminal histories and current charges of many suggest that they may be among those women that the National Study found to have the most extensive involvement with the criminal justice system. This group was not felons convicted of serious crimes but rather those women convicted of what that study termed "habitual offenses"; prostitution, drug offenses, and petty theft.

Current Offense

Though many had previous criminal histories, nearly all the women had been charged with minor, non-dangerous, offenses.

The most common offenses were prostitution (40.9%) and property crimes (30.3%). So, over 70% of the offenses were economic. Fewer than 7% involved weapons or assault on a person. In the following table, the Property category covers theft, receiving stolen property, forgery and fraud. Violence covers possession of a weapon and assault. Offenses that were not covered in the major categories were placed in Other, as were those in which one charge other than probation violation or revocation could not be identified.

TABLE #13 Offense Types for Current Incarceration

Property	Drugs	Violence	Prostitution	Traffic	Other
30.3%	12.1%	6.1%	40.9%	3.0%	7.5%

This data is compared with offense findings for both California and an aggregate of 14 states in the National Study in the following table. Prostitution and traffic offenses are combined in Other to make local data comparable.

TABLE #14 Offense Types for Misdemeanants -- Local, State, National

	Property	Drugs	Violence	Other
National*	41.1%	20.2%	11.4%	19.9%
California**	38.1%	31.3%	7.3%	21.5%
San Francisco	30.3%	12.1%	6.1%	51.4%

* National Study, p. 143
**National Study, pp. 146-149.

San Francisco is atypical, most noticeably in the Other category. This category includes prostitution, which accounts for 40.9% of local sentenced women, but only 5.4% of women sentenced misdemeants in California, and only 7.2% nationally in 1976.[15] San Francisco has a high incidence of prostitution, as do other port cities, and cities where tourism is a major industry. Complaints by local businessmen and politicians that prostitution interferes with tourism and commerical activity in the downtown area have resulted in a high rate of arrest also.

Significant police resources are allocated to a special squad of undercover officers, who make arrests by impersonating customers. A prior study of the city showed that in the first half of 1978, 54% of the women booked, and 46% of those sentenced had been charged with prostitution.[13]

Fewer women are sentenced locally than is true at state and national levels for misdemeanor drug charges. This may be due to great acceptance of drug use and/or to extensive use of diversion programs and alternative sentencing.

The offenses with which black and white women are charged differ markedly. White women were charged with two crimes only, prostitution and theft, both of which are thought of as typically "female" crimes. Black women were charged with a broad range of offenses, with the greatest number being arrested for property offenses including receiving stolen property and forgery. Other minority women show a pattern midway between white and black. The following table summarizes offense types by race:

TABLE #15 Offense Types by Race

	Property	Drug	Violence	Prostitution	Traffic	Other
White	20.0%	0	0	73.3%	0	6.6%
Black	39.3%	18.0%	12.1%	21.2%	3.0%	6.0%
Other Minority	22.2%	11.0%	0	50.0%	5.5%	11.1%

While the overall offense pattern in San Francisco was atypical, black women in this study were similar to incarcerated misdemeanant women nationally in terms of offenses. The national data below aggregates offense types for all incarcerated misdemeanant women from the National Study.

TABLE 16 Offense Types by Race for Interviewed Sample by All Incarcerated Women Misdemeanants

	Property	Drug	Violence	Prostitution	Other
National	41.1%	20.2%	11.4%	7.2%	12.7%
Local--Black	39.3%	18.1%	12.1%	21.2%	9.0%
Local--Non-Black	21.2%	6.0%	0	60.6%	12.0%

It is likely that local data reflects a dual police pattern of selective arrests for "vice" in a heterogeneous, though predominantly white downtown section of the city, and a regular patrol force which focuses on property and street crime, and is responsible for a high arrest rate of blacks.

Sentencing

The state penal code sets a pattern of misdemeanor sentences. Common sentences are 30 days, 45 days, three months, six months, and one year. Sentences of over a year are generally served in state prison. Women at the county jail were incarcerated for periods ranging from 10 days to one year. The most common sentences were one month (19.7%), three months, (22.7%), and six months (19.7%). The average woman served a three month sentence. However, it would be more descriptive to divide the group into minimal time (10-45 days), short time (60-120) and long time (6 months to a year).

TABLE #17 Sentence Lengths

	Number	Percent
10-45 days	28	37.9%
60-120 days	23	36.0%
6 months	13	19.6%
9 months - 1 year	4	6.0%
TOTAL	66	99.5%*

In some cases, there is an expected match betwen an offense and the sentence a woman is ordered to serve. For example, traffic offenses drew 10 or 15 days, and more than half of the women charged with prostitution served 60 days or less. However, it would be misleading to make many inferences about the relationship between the charges and sentences presented below.

TABLE #18 Sentence Lengths By Charge

	Property	Drug	Violence	Prostitution	Traffic	Other
10-45 days	35.0%	25.0%	50.0%	44.0%	100.0%	0
60-120 days	40.0%	25.0%	25.0%	40.7%	0	40.0%
6 months	15.0%	37.5%	0	14.8%	0	60.0%
9 months-1 year	10.0%	12.5%	25.0%	0	0	0

While two women may be charged with the same offense, the final sentences may be quite disparate, based on their prior criminal records and on plea bargaining. Often, when a woman is arrested and charged with an offense, the fact that she has a prior suspended jail sentence, or is currently on probation is brought out in court. The ensuing plea bargain might take a number of forms. Upon promise of a reduced sentence, she might plead guilty to the new charge in order to avoid a long jail sentence (from the imposition of a prior suspended sentence or from the revocation of a prior probation). A guilty plea may also be traded for a reduction of the charges to a lesser offense. The great majority of

misdemeanor cases are resolved through bargaining, with little reference to the merits of the case.

The erosion of legal protections caused by revocation of probation without due process is severe and troubling. The bargaining process gives great, discretionary power to judges, prosecutors and defense lawyers. Without court observation and access to criminal histories in this study, it was not possible to know how the final sentences had been determined, and whether they were based on new or old charges. Sufficient data was not available from respondents in this study to analyze and compare sentences for a given offense type. The jail sentence reported by women who had been charged with prostitution, but were sentenced for probation violations and revocations, ranged from 45 days to six months. This suggests that there is much room for racial and perhaps other biases based on class and offense to have entered the plea bargaining process. However, we do not know the offenses for which the women had been placed on provation previously, nor their records of former convictions, which determine subsequent sentences.

There are marked differences in how much time women of different racial groups were sentenced to serve.

TABLE #19 Sentence Lengths by Race

	White	Black	Other Minority
10-45 days	53.3%	33.0%	33.0%
60-120 days	40.0%	44.0%	38.9%
6 months	6.7%	21.2%	27.7%
9 months-1 year	0	12.1%	0

Nearly all white inmates served four months or less, while one third of the black inmates and nearly as many other minority women served at least six months. One quarter of the inmates were longterm, at six months to a year. White women were charged for the most part with prostitution, had by self-report more arrests and convictions than did other women, and

more than half were given minimal sentences. To what degree this is due to differential treatment due to general racial bias (from the decision to arrest through better plea bargains, and consolidation of cases for sentencing purposes) and to what degree to the offense itself cannot be determined for reasons stated above. The current data shows that black women are charged with and convicted of a broader range of crimes, and are punished far more severely than are white women. Other minority women also received longer sentences than did white women, which also suggests racial discrimination in sentencing.

Footnotes

1. Ruth M. Glick and Virginia V. Neto, National Study of Women's Correctional Programs (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977).

2. Laura Bresler and Donald E. Leonard, Women's Jail: Pretrial and Post-Conviction Alternatives. (San Francisco: Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, 1978), p. 18.

3. See Glick, p. 109.

4. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1976 (97th edition), (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 37.

5. This view of dependence and prostitution was developed in discussions with Priscilla Alexander of the National Task Force on Prostitution.

6. An excellent program serving jails and prisons in Northern California, Legal Services for Prisoners with Children, helped women in the jail locate their children, determine their legal status, and learn their rights.

7. John U. Ogbu, Minority Education and Caste, The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective, (New York: Random House, Inc., 1976). p. 4.

8. See Ogbu, p. 29.

9. See Statistical Abstract, p. 124.

10. See above.

11. Theresa Lynch and Marilyn Neckes, The Cost-Effectiveness of Enforcing Prostitution Laws, (San Francisco: Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, 1978).

12. See Statistical Abstract, p. 124.

13. See above.

14. Lilian Breslow Rubin, Worlds of Pain (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), p. 209.

15. See Glick, pp. 148-9.

III

THE JAIL

Entrance into the Jail

The typical process leading to a jail sentence at San Bruno starts with an arrest on the street, a brief stay in the city jail (which is located in the courthouse), and several court appearances. For those women who have never been jailed before, the first stay at the city jail can be traumatic. After they are brought in, their property is taken from them, they are strip-searched (hopefully by a female deputy, but short staffing means that male deputies are sometimes involved), and put in a large, crowded holding cell. First offenders are often placed with those who have long records, despite attempts to keep them in separate cells. There is also some attempt to separate out women who might become violent, but as many of the women are anxious and angry about the arrest process, the general level of hostility is quite high. In addition to the arrest itself, many of the women have to worry about children left uncared for, which is compounded by the fact that many of them are reluctant to tell their families they are in jail, or to ask for help. All in all, it is a confusing, frightening and isolating experience for all of the women, and especially for those who are new to the process.

Following an arrest, some women are able to bail out within a few hours. A few are able to gain release on their own recognizance (if they meet certain criteria, they are allowed to leave jail on their promise to appear in court without posting bail) before they appear in court. Others are released on their own recognizance when they appear in court. A small number of women are unable to gain pretrial release by any of the above means, and must stay in jail until their second court appearance.

It is exceedingly rare for a woman to have a jury trial. Usually, she will enter a plea of guilty after two or three court appearances, with the sentence being decided through the process of plea bargaining between the prosecutor and the woman's attorney, usually a public defender. If the woman had been granted probation as part of her sentence for a previous offense, and the arrest occurred during her period of probation, a hearing may be held to consider revoking the previous probation. Since re-arrest

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on any charge is, in and of itself, a violation of probation, it is difficult to fight revocation. If probation is revoked, the women must serve all or a portion of the probation sentence in jail. In some cases, women plead guilty to the new charges to avoid serving the previous sentence imposed with probation.

If the woman is sentenced in court and is to begin the sentence immediately, she is taken briefly to another jail in the courthouse. From there, she is taken by bus to the County Jail at San Bruno.

At San Bruno, she goes first to a small windowed holding room in the front part of the jail where all of her property, except for the clothes she is wearing, is taken from her, and she is issued a receipt. Most of the women come into the jail with very little other than the clothes they are wearing. One day during the study, the Sergeant opened the property closet to reveal eight purses for the 21 women in the jail. Manila envelopes held the few possessions of the others. One woman's booking card recorded the storage of a "Snoopy" lighter and two barettes, all she had with her when she was arrested. One of the women interviewed in the study, knowing that she was going to jail, and hoping she would be able to participate in a work-release program, had written up a resume to bring with her. It was taken from her as a "fire hazard."

Any money that a woman has is also taken from her. She is given a receipt and the amount is entered into a ledger, to be drawn against for the purchase of goods in the commissary. Such items as toothpaste and a toothbrush, deodorant, shampoo, writing paper, envelopes and pens are not provided, they must be bought. Some women come into the jail with very little money. If they have no one to send them any while they are incarcerated, they must borrow or do without.

After a woman's property and money are taken from her she is strip searched. Her street clothes are taken from her and placed in a locker, and she is given the jail uniform of jeans and a red or blue T-shirt, a process called "dressing in." She is also given bedding, a plastic knife, fork and spoon, and a copy of the rules. She is then housed in a three-bed dorm until she can be examined by a nurse (usually within a few hours). If she is kicking drugs, or is otherwise sick, she remains in the dorm. Otherwise, she is assigned to a cell, which is euphemistically called a "room."

The taking away all of the women's personal possessions, the strip searching, the issuing of anonymous clothing, and the final isolation in a cell serves more than the security purposes which are used to justify them. They also serve to depersonalize the women, cutting them off from the outside, and from the items which contribute to their sense of their own identities.

Once the woman is in the jail, basically the only orientation she gets is a list of the jail rules and an accompanying schedule (in military hours) of when classes are held and when service providers come to the women's jail. While the "dressing-in" deputy may answer specific questions and give a very general idea of what is going on, many women do not know what questions to ask. For more than a third of the women, this is their first jail sentence, making the process particularly upsetting and confusing.

The Location of the Jail

The San Francisco County Jail is not actually in San Francisco, but was built in the early 1930s on land owned by the city in the town of San Bruno, in an adjacent county. Located 15 miles from the city, the San Bruno facility is nearly inaccessible by public transportation. Originally, the jail was designed to be a working farm, and was intended to provide physical rehabilitation for the prisoners, who were minor misdemeanants, primarily men who had been arrested for alcohol-related offenses. In recent years, the jail has housed a mixed group consisting of pre-sentence misdemeanants and people serving misdemeanor and felony sentences of up to one year. The women who are incarcerated in the San Bruno Jail are all sentenced prisoners, with sentences ranging from ten days to a year. Changes in both the population sent to jail and in administrative philosophy, have reduced farming to a minor activity.

Now that the function of the jail is confinement, the distance from the city and the lack of public transportation serve to reinforce the isolation of the prisoners from the community to which they will return. The location of the jail makes planning for re-entry into the community extremely difficult, as prisoners cannot easily make contact with their families, social services, schools, or potential employers.

The Plant

Although the grounds of the San Bruno Jail include a cultivated field, with cows grazing on several acres, the jail itself is severe and prison-like in appearance, and was designed to be a high security institution. The main building is a large, three-story men's jail, with a capacity of 584 prisoners. In addition to prisoner dormitories and cells, the building houses a number of support services. A nine-room school, where classes are held for both male and female prisoners, was renovated in the mid 1970s in what had been laundry facilities in one wing of the first floor. Also on this floor are a large kitchen and food-storage area, where male prisoners work under the supervision of civilian cooks, preparing food for the inmates and staff of both the men's and women's jails.

The building also contains a large laundry room and offices of the medical and social services, as well as a commissary, staffed by male prisoners, where food, personal items (such as toothpaste), and stationery can be bought.

Because of the large size of the jail, male prisoners often travel considerable distances inside it.

About one hundred yards away from the men's jail is the women's jail, which contains 48 single cells (called rooms) in a small two-story building. There are two communal rooms, the dining room and the day room, where women prisoners spend most of their time. The Sheriff's deputies observe both rooms from the adjoining glassed-in front office. Women who are not in school generally stay in the "day room", some watching television, reading, or crocheting, others involved in conversations, many just sitting silently.

The high-ceilinged day room is large and dimly lit; little sunlight filters in. The tile floor and blue cement walls amplify sound. A color television placed high on the wall, near the ceiling, is always on, alternating soap operas with game shows. Metal and plastic chairs line three sides of the room, some single, others joined together. "Couches," made of joined chairs, are set in two rows in the middle of the room. This arrangement impedes, but does not totally prevent interaction. Shelves of paperback books and an old, broken piano complete the decor. The atmosphere of quiet boredom, which often barely masks contained resentment,

is punctuated when a favorite show comes on television, or when the mail is distributed. When the jail is full, the room is noisy, and the tension in the air is often palpable.

The dining room, because it receives full sunlight, is more cheerful. The radio is often on, and in the evenings there are "Smokey Joes," where women dance to music on the radio. Although food preparation is centralized on the men's side, the meals are transported to the women's kitchen, where women prisoners serve the meals and clean the area. A side benefit to this job is that the women can cook small snacks for themselves.

The second floor contains a tier of cells and a three-bed dorm where newly received women stay until they can be seen by a nurse. In the basement are a laundry room, lockers which contain the women's street clothes, a large bathroom, and a small classroom. (This classroom, as well as the school on the men's side, will be described in greater detail later.)

Although the physical distance between the men's and the women's jails is not great, it might as well be. There is little communication between the two buildings, which makes it difficult for women prisoners to participate in coeducational classes in the men's facility, as well as in other services. Special events, such as concerts, or changes in the scheduling of regular events, are not consistently reported to the women's side, for example. In addition, at the times when the women's jail runs on minimum staff, women are sometimes denied the opportunity to participate in programs on the men's side because a deputy cannot be spared to accompany them.

Differences in scale, which are due to both differences in the size of the inmate population and the scope of activities, contribute to the differing atmospheres in the men's and women's jails. Because the number of male inmates is greater, for example, and because they are more spread out, there is less direct supervision on their side. The greater diversity of activities on the men's side, which is attributable to the larger population, allows for more specialized and diversified jobs. For example, men prisoners work as elevator operators, clerks, painters, stair monitors, and in the barber shop, sewer plant, library and commissary, as well as on the farm. An alternative to those jobs is to be assigned as a student. Although all jail jobs are theoretically voluntary, and are rewarded with

"work-time" reductions in sentence, in practice the labor is necessary to keep the jail operating, and therefore there is pressure to work. A plus, at least on the men's side, is that the jobs allow the prisoners more freedom of movement.

The jobs on the women's side are both more geographically concentrated and less diversified, most of them involving cleaning. As on the men's side, women work as tier trusties, whose duties include sweeping and mopping the floors, and bringing trays of food to inmates locked down in their cells. Other jobs include working in the kitchen, laundry, and office. The laundry is, perhaps, more similar to the men's jobs in that it is out of sight of the deputies, for the most part.

In addition to the greater freedom of movement on the men's side that results from more diversified jobs and greater distances, men prisoners are granted access to the "yard" for exercise on a daily basis. Women, on the other hand, have only sporadic access to the walled courtyard adjoining the first floor tier, when there are enough staff for one deputy to accompany them.

One final difference is that more civilians are in the men's jail on a regular basis than are in the women's jail. In comparing the men's and women's jails, a woman employee who had worked on both sides commented that the men's jail was "more like a city," in its size and complexity. There is purposeful work to be done, and more authority and autonomy are granted to the prisoner-workers. The atmosphere on the women's side, on the other hand, is restrictive. The women are kept inside and inactive. Some women take on extra jobs even though they do not get additional work-time credit, just to keep busy. As one of the Sergeants explained, spelling out each letter, "It's b-o-r-i-n-g here, that's why they're glad to work."

The officer in charge is well aware of the negative effects of the jail's stifling rules and routines. Her attempts to change the staff's response to prisoners have had little success. The institution, by nature, serves to remove personal autonomy and responsibility. The deputies consider the women's reaction, which is often hostility directed at staff, as "immature," and the reason and rationale for treating them as children. They respond in kind. The alternating current of tension and boredom is as much a part of staff as prisoner reality. At times they seem as closed in as the prisoners. Constrained by the job, and by the unalterable nature of

guard/prisoner relations, the staff sometimes reach out to the women. Other times they are locked into attitudes, influenced by their own class and race relations to the prisoners, of anger and/or apathy.

In addition to the poor communication between the men's and the women's jails, there are tremendous barriers to communication with people outside of the jail, which serves to increase the women's anxiety about what is happening to children, lovers, apartments and possessions, etc. The fact that few resource providers come to the jail, combined with the almost total lack of re-entry planning, means that these problems cannot be resolved, or even addressed, while in jail.

Outside of attending classes, the only permissible activities for the women are reading, writing, watching television, or crocheting (with yarn distributed by a representative of the Salvation Army). The rules of the jail require women to have only one unfinished crafts project in their rooms. Under special circumstances, women who are close to completing a sewing project, but would not be able to do so before release, may be allowed to work on it outside of sewing class. But in general, the out-of-class projects and activities are restricted.

One problem that was mentioned by several women in the study was that the shorthandedness of the staff meant that inmates who had skills that they could have taught the other women were unable to do so because a deputy could not be spared to supervise the classroom. The fact that there was so little for the women to do had a demoralizing effect on them. Even when there is something different to do, as when this author came to give a seminar at 7:15 in the evening, the effect is undermined by the enforcement of jail regulations which require the women to be in pajamas and robes at that early hour.

Sheriff's Deputies and Sergeants, who have the most regular contact with prisoners, perform custody functions only. Prisoner Services workers (advocacy and case workers of the Sheriff's Department) help with legal problems, family emergencies, and post-release planning, where possible. Because they are short staffed, they concentrate on emergency and legal help. Since the custody personnel are not primarily responsible for seeing that social service providers reach all prisoners, and since there is no real effort to provide a clear orientation to the jail and its procedures, most of the women in the jail remain confused during their incarceration.

Continued Isolation

The women's sense of being isolated continues through restricted movement and little contact with the outside world. Although there are coeducational classes in the men's facility, as well as occasional concerts, some women are even denied that limited access to a more normal world. Before a woman can attend either the coeducational classes or the concerts, her record must be checked at the courthouse, and the information transmitted to the men's side, where a card must be made up and sent to the women's side. If a woman has a history of attempting to escape, or if there are "holds" on her record, she is not allowed to go over to the men's side. A "hold" is a notation that she is not to be released at the end of her sentence because there is an old charge or warrant against her. The rationale is that women with further charges to face would be more likely to try to escape during the walk between the two facilities. However, as one of the Sergeants pointed out, the warrants are often only for old traffic tickets, and someone is hardly likely to attempt to escape merely to avoid old traffic tickets. The rule is applied unselectively, and a number of the women in the sample were denied access to the school on the men's side for this reason.

Another problem with this system is that it takes at least a week, and often longer, for the cards to come through. Since going to school on the men's side is the one break in the routine, and the one opportunity the women have to get out of the building, the bureaucratic delays serve to further isolate and alienate the women in jail.

Contact with the outside world beyond the jail is quite limited. The main ways that women can contact people outside are by letter, phone, and visits. Letters hold a great deal of emotional significance, and for some women this is the only form of contact they have, not only with friends on the outside, but with men they have met in classes in the men's facility. The time when mail is distributed is a highlight of the day. Romantic letters become very important, and correspondences often start up between women and men incarcerated in the jail who have met in class, or even on the bus on the way to jail.

A major problem with maintaining contact through letters is the cost. As mentioned before, paper, envelopes, and pens all must be bought from

the commissary. Prisoner Services workers are each given about 25 stamped envelopes a month, but that is not nearly enough to meet the needs of the prisoners. One woman who had no money on the books said that she got tired of begging, had not seen the Prisoner Services worker since she had been in jail, and in any case, did not know if the worker had stationery or not. At times, the women being interviewed for this study asked the interviewers if they could borrow or keep pens.

Another problem for many of the women is that friends on the outside move frequently, as is common on the street, and do not have stable addresses. This transience makes telephone calls difficult. Women are entitled to make one phone call per day, and incoming calls are not generally allowed. The calls must be made collect, on a pay phone in the front office, which doubles the cost and sometimes poses problems when a woman tries to set up a call to another pay phone (many of their friends on the outside do not have private phones). Women must sign up to use the phone, and calls are limited to five minutes, although this rule is often relaxed.

When lawyers or social service workers call the jail, they are told to call back on the pay phone. These are the only incoming calls allowed. Women who need to contact these business people, in return, usually cannot make the calls collect. They are allowed, in principle, to use the recently installed telephone in the Prisoners Services office, under the supervision of the worker. However, since the worker is not there on a consistent schedule, and has many things to tend to when she is, this presents problems. What results is that, as is so often the case, those who are the most persistent (so long as they neither offen nor threaten the provider) get the lion's share of the services.

Visiting hours are held at the women's jail on Saturdays and Sundays. The majority of the women have no visitors at all, and only a small number regularly have visitors. One reason is that the jail is nearly impossible to get to without a car. In addition, visitors must have documents to identify themselves, so that they can be checked to see if they have outstanding warrants or are wanted on criminal charges. Many do not have sufficient identification papers, and some may have old criminal charges. One of the women in this study had actually been arrested on old charges

when she went to visit her husband on the men's side.

A number of the women, particularly white women, appeared to be estranged from their families. A majority of the women with children (63.3%) had not seen them since they had been in jail. Some women (this was not the case for any of the black women, but was for members of other racial groups) had lost contact with their children completely. In some cases, the children were in foster homes, or the children's fathers or members of the mother's family had custody, and the women were not allowed contact with their children. There were others who maintained contact with their children by phone, but did not see them. Some said that they did not want their children to know they were in jail. A few said that the children were told that their mother was sick or in the hospital.

For those women who were estranged from their families, the lack of contact with people who could, conceivably, help them on release further intensified the isolation imposed by the jail situation. To contribute further to the ways in which women were cut off from sources of support, and from meaningful activities and resources which could help them plan for their future, many of the services, either located in the jail itself or provided by people who go into the jail, are available only on an erratic basis. The representative from welfare-social services, for example, is based in the men's jail. While he is scheduled to go to the women's jail three times a week, a number of women who could have used his services said they had been unable to make contact with him.

Services

Prisoner Services. Prisoner Services is one of two programs run by the Sheriff's Department specifically to help prisoners prepare for their release. Started in 1973, its original purpose was to help prisoners deal with daily problems encountered in the jail. The staff consisted primarily of volunteers and workers who were paid a subsistence salary. Since then, the program has grown to include casework, legal assistance, supervision of the school program, coordination of a volunteer tutoring program, and release planning. Basically, this program has responsibility for dealing with all prisoner needs and problems other than custody.

The size of the staff has varied, with as many as 30 workers at times.

At the time of this study, however, the loss of student volunteers and CETA workers had sharply reduced the staff to nine caseworkers to serve the six city and county jails. At the San Bruno facility there were four caseworkers and a supervisor on the men's side, and one caseworker on the women's side. This severe reduction in staff, compounded by the uncertainty about continued funding, meant that the staff was unable to provide adequate services to the large number of prisoners who face problems in getting set up after release.

Since most of the women interviewed expected to have problems in finding a job and a place to live, and getting an education, developing re-entry plans would seem to require the services of at least one, and hopefully more, full-time workers. The one worker, however, who was assigned to the women's jail at the time of this study, also had responsibilities at the county jail downtown. The fact that she also had to deal with immediate in-jail problems and legal issues, which are of critical importance, meant that she had less time to work on plans for re-entry.

The first service provided by the worker for newly-arrived prisoners is the check for "holds" (described above). In addition to the limitations on a woman who has a "hold" on her record that have already been described (inability to attend classes or concerts on the men's side), the "hold" means that a woman will be ineligible for passes to go to outside job interviews. The "hold" also compounds the problems of planning for re-entry because the woman does not know if she will be released, or if she will be transferred to a jail in another county. The Prisoner Service worker determines the accuracy of the record, and tries to arrange for a resolution of the charges, if possible. In the end, the case is often dropped, there is a settlement that does not involve incarceration, or where another sentence has been imposed, it is served concurrently.

The legal work involved in determining the status of "holds" is time consuming, with preparation and follow-up on these cases taking from a half to a full day, and sometimes longer. The worker must also prepare documemnts to request modification of the sentence from the judge (this is usually released before the completion of the sentence, due to changes in the prisoner's situation). At times, when there are a large number of women with legal problems, the worker simply does not have time to meet

other needs.

One part of the worker's job is to help women develop release plans, or packages, which may involve setting up housing, employment referral, training and education programs, drug counseling, social services, etc. Since the workers have little or not time to develop and maintain contact with potential resources outside the jail, they are limited in what they can offer. This is especially the case with job development, a difficult task in any case, since most of the women prisoners have few marketable skills and little traditional work experience. The workers often use their own network of personal acquaintences, supplemented by occasional requests that come in from employers. A program was set up by Prisoner Services with the phone company to test and screen applicants from the jail which is promising, although no job placements have resulted, so far, for women released from jail.

Other kinds of services that were offered at the time of the study included the setting up of passes to leave the jail for a day for job interviews or other special circumstances, use of the worker's telephone for dealing with outside agencies, and information about and referrals to social services.

More than two-thirds of the women interviewed reported having contact with the Prisoner Services worker.* What was tremendously discouraging to the worker, however, was that so many of the women ended up back in jail, including some for whom she had put in a great deal of effort to get them into post-release programs. Clearly, there is a tremendous need for a follow-up program that is available to all prisoners, a need that is not being met by County Parole, which only works with some prisoners, or by the Sheriff's Re-entry Program (a post-release program), which at the time of the study was geared mainly to working with prisoners who were considered to be most employable. Since Prisoner Services is having difficulty meeting the needs of the women while they are in jail, it is unrealistic to expect that they would be able to provide much in the way of follow-up services, at least as they are currently staffed. An

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*Of the 20 women who had had no contact with the worker, four had been in jail for less than one week, 10 had been in jail for one to four weeks, and five had been in jail for more than one month.

additional problem is suggested by the fact that although the worker wanted to remain in contact with women once they were released, many of them were reluctant to contact her because she was located in the jail.

The problems besetting Prisoner Services are manifold. Morale is very low due to the stressful working conditions, low pay, limited and uncertain job tenure, and inadequate administrative back up. With sufficient staff, and with support from within the Sheriff's Department, many of the current problems could be eased. For example, increased staff would allow for more specialization in areas such as legal work and job development. Also, with increased staff, it might be possible to develop a more comprehensive follow-up program, and to provide longer range services.

The failure to provide the women with the kind of help they need when they leave the jail certainly cannot be laid solely on Prisoner Services. For example, the lack of decent housing, whether on a temporary or a permanent basis, at prices that these women can be expected to pay without resorting to continued criminal activity, or that could be paid for by social services, is a real problem for which there are no easy solutions. For many of the women, incarceration has only added to the complicated problems they already faced in surviving on the street. But in terms of at least providing information about education and self-advocacy skills, and especially about job hunting skills, services could be much improved. As one woman prisoner put it, "In a [drug] program, they ease you out, little by little. Here they just dump you out."

County Parole. The County Parole project has a more clearly defined and limited mandate than does Prisoner Services. It assists prisoners who have served half of their sentence to apply for parole before a three-member board. If the parole is granted, the prisoner is released on the condition that he or she comply with the terms developed with pre-release parole aid. The length of the parole period is determined by the Board, and may range from 30 days to six months. The parole may be revoked after a hearing if the person fails to meet the agreed-upon conditions, or if he or she is re-arrested and convincted. There is considerable flexibility, however, and if the pre-release plans are inappropriate, parolees are able

to change them.

Two parole aides work with a supervisor in the San Bruno jail, contacting each eligible prisoner to explain the program. The pool of people eligible for County Parole is far smaller than the pool of people who need help from Prisoner Services. It is composed mainly of misdemeanants, many felons being specifically excluded from participating by the sentencing judge.* For those who are eligible, a monthly orientation session is held, at which time the supervisor of the post-release office and two vocational counselors who work with post-release staff explain the hearing process and discuss available community resources. Interested prisoners then complete an interview. Based on their needs, interests, education and work histories, a package is prepared to present to the Board. Two weeks time is allocated for work on the release package, to prepare for the twice-monthly meetings of the Parole Board. Women with one month or less to serve may have finished, or nearly finished, their sentence by the time their application would even be heard.**. This limits the use of this program by women, as does the prospect of being under supervision after release.

Elements of the re-entry package may include: staying in a residential program or arranging other housing; a job offer or appointments with job-placement services; counseling, etc. At the hearing, the three Board members may ask the applicant about her or his plans and reasons for wanting parole. Those who are not accepted may reapply.

Of the 66 women interviewed in our sample, six were released on County Parole. Four completed parole successfully, one had her parole revoked with a warrant issued for the remainder of her original sentence, and one had her parole revoked although it was reinstated after she served some of the remaining sentence. Seven women who were in the jail, but who were not in our sample pool, were also released on County parole, and completed it successfully.

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*At one point in the study, there were 260 men in the jail and 19 women. The pre-release workers were working on release packages for fifteen men and four women.

**Fifteen, or close to one-quarter, of the women in the sample had been sentenced to 30 days or less.

Four of the women in our sample mentioned that pre-release aides also prepared packages for them, although they were later denied. Pre-release aides also made referrals for women who were not eligible for parole, as time permitted. In some cases, the Prisoner Services worker and the County Parole worker would work together to help an individual prisoner.

In some cases, the original release package had to be modified because it was inappropriate, or because the woman did not follow through. One woman, for example, had arranged to stay in a residential program that she found too confining. She left the program briefly, returned, and was finally asked to leave before her parole period was up. Her Parole Officer found another place for her to live, and provided a job reference for her. She and two other women in the sample remained in contact with the outreach office after their parole had expired. The obligation to report regularly, the support and advocacy functions of parole, and the access to resources, combined with the knowledge that they would have to serve the remainder of their old sentence if rearrested, appeared to help a number of the women successfully complete their parole. The combination of services both inside and outside the jail, is a strength of this program.

At a parole hearing observed by the interviewer, it appeared that while the Board members differed in their attitudes toward the applicants' lifestyles and motivations, they agreed that even for women with a poor prognosis, releasing them with reasonable plans, and some support and supervision, was preferable to simply sending them out of jail with nothing at all.

In sum, release planning services are far from adequate. The women consistently told interviewers they expected to have problems finding a place to live and a job or means of support, or education, and that they were not getting the help they needed. Of course, not all of them were prepared to make the major changes in their lives that would be necessary if they were to stay out of jail in the future. But most would have benefitted to some degree or another from some kind of assistance in dealing at least with the disruptive effects of having been incaraerated. The lack of such support reinforces their sense that there is no other life open to them.

A final note: as inadequate as the services provided to women in

the San Francisco County Jails are, they are sadly far more adequate than what is offered in most city and county jails. In most of this country, even minimal efforts to help people who have become caught up in the criminal justice system are lacking.

IV

EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN JAIL

Introduction

It was found in the National Study of women's prisons and jails that, in general, the education programs they offer focus on the extrinsic value of education as a means to an end, presumably a job. The assumption is that with better education and job skills, the women will be able to find jobs (or better jobs) and support themselves and their families by legal means. As previously noted, blacks constitute a high proportion of the poor in this country, and also a disproportionately high percent of all prisoners. Of the women interviewed in the present study, fifty percent were black, while black women comprise slightly over fourteen percent of all women in the city.[1]

Many people concerned with the welfare of blacks have focused on the relationship between the education they receive and the inequity of the economic position they occupy. A common fallacy of many theories is the assumption that socioeconomic inequality between blacks and whites is caused, at least in part, by differences in school performance and educational attainment. It is further assumed that the inequity would largely disappear if only blacks performed in school like whites.[2]

John Ogbu argues that the existence of a "job ceiling" which restricts most blacks and some other minorities to low level, poorly paid jobs, in fact influences both the kind of education that blacks are given and their attitudes toward education. Minorities perceive (correctly though not always consciously) that their future chances for good jobs and the other supposed benefits of education are severely limited, and consequently they are not as strongly motivated to persevere in school work as are whites. The school system equips blacks and other minorities with knowledge and skills appropriate to low social and occupational positions. As long as the "job ceiling" and other barriers to economic and social opportunities exist, educational changes cannot be effective. Therefore, reforming the schools, while necessary, is only a partial solution.[3]

Similarly, reform of jail and prison education programs, while necessary, is only a partial solution. Women released from jail are at a severe disadvantage in the employment world for many reasons beyond their lack of education and job skills. Those who are minorities face racial discrimination. All of them are faced with the discriminatory practices which affect women in the labor market: less pay for equal work, less opportunity to enter the well-paying employment fields, and few support services such as childcare. Because they have been in jail, they are faced with additional prejudice and discrimination. The combined effects of these obstacles are devastating, and could not be completely overcome by even a perfectly designed, adequately staffed and funded educational and vocational program.

For all the reasons stated above, to imply that the women's lack of skills or education are the primary reasons they experience difficulties in the labor market (or abandon the attempt to find legitimate jobs) is to blame the victims for the situation. (For an excellent discussion of the ideological process of blaming the victim for poverty or joblessness, rather than structural inequities in the society, see William Ryan, 1976.)[4] It would be misleading to encourage women who have been incarcerated to believe that with the proper credentials and knowledge, they would be able to get jobs. Both the discrimination they face and the scarcity of jobs make that unlikely. In order to be useful to the women, education and training would have to be directly tied to offers of employment, or better yet, the two combined in either on-the-job training or work-study arrangements. At the structural level, the solution must begin with an attack on the barriers to equity in employment at the same time that educational inequities are addressed.

One of the main purposes of this study was to assess the equity and usefulness of the educational and vocational programs offered to the women in jail. The jail program will be described in terms of the way it is administered, the classes offered and their usefulness to the women, and the educational and vocational counseling available. Interviews with key personnel and observation of the program focused on two

main areas of interest: coeducation versus separate classes, and the educational and vocational counseling services offered to help women continue with education or training on release.

The major findings were:

* There were serious obstacles to the full and equal participation of women in coeducational classes
* Separate classes for women, while they addressed some of the problems involved in coeducation, did not offer equal services or diversity
* As seventy percent of the women served fewer than sixty days, little educational benefit could be expected, given the current structure.
* The educational program did not provide adequate counseling and assistance with release planning to help prisoners continue their studies when released.

Administration

In order to evaluate the educational program for women, it is essential to understand the place of education in the administration of the jail. The staff functions of a jail are commonly divided into two distinct parts: custody and treatment. The custody staff is responsible for the safety and security of the jail, i.e., movement and housing of prisoners and enforcement of jail rules. All services such as medical care, counseling, education, casework and prisoner advocacy are treatment activities. Treatment staff may be employed directly by the institution, or may provide services while working for a separate organization.

Jails (and prisons as well) are commonly characterized by a tension between the custody and treatment functions. For example, problems may arise if getting students to class on time conflicts with the daily custody routine. Though the balance varies somewhat in different institutions, treatment services are addenda to the custodial function. With the emphasis on custody, prisoners are basically warehoused in the jail and the services they receive are generally inadequate.[5]

The strength and effectiveness of an educational program, when it is run from within the jail, depends partly on how strongly the jail administrator supports treatment concerns. A study of college prison programs identified and compared two models for administering them. It found that programs are less effective when the staff is hired, supervised, and evaluated by prison authorities as part of the internal treatment program than when an outside college or university performs these functions in a semi-autonomous relationship. Programs that were administered by, and maintained close ties with a university could generate a base of outside influence "as a counterweight to the power and ideology of the corrections system."[6]

While the school at a county jail is far less elaborate than a prison college program, the question of how it is administered is similarly important. Struggles to control the administration of the school, and tensions between custody, school, and other treatment staff directly affected the education of women prisoners at the jail. These tensions, as well as disagreements about the benefits of coeducation, resulted in the addition of separate women's classes in the fall of 1978 to a program that had been coeducational for three years. In order to distinguish between the two educational programs, the coeducational education program on the men's side will be referred to as "the school," and the separate program for women as "the women's classes."

The struggle over coeducation consumed a lot of the energies of school personnel during the months immediately preceding this study, as will be seen in the following description. It should be kept in mind, however, that coeducation was not the most crucial educational issue for the women in the jail. Given the relatively short amount of time they were in jail and could attend classes, it is unlikely that they would be able to make significant educational gains in any classes, whether they were separate or coeducational. Nearly 70 percent of the women interviewed were given sentences of 90 days or less, of which 59 or fewer were actually served. The fact that learning was treated as a jail activity, rather than an important part of prisoners' release plans and needs, was a serious problem which was overlooked in the disputes over who ran the educational program.

The education program includes academic, adult education and vocational classes. It is run under the sponsorship of the major treatment program in the jail, Prisoner Services.* An educational coordinator heads the school, and is part of the Prisoner Services staff. The coordinator recruits students, schedules classes, deals with discipline problems, and serves as liaison between the instructional staff, the students, Prisoner Services, and the custody staff.

The teachers are employed by the Community College District (CCD). The CCD runs classes at seven community college centers throughout the city, and provides teachers for external classes such as those at the jail. An administrator from the sponsoring center is responsible for the hiring, supervision, and evaluation of the teachers at the jail. However, she has not often taken an active role in the internal affairs of the school.

The teachers have not been able to generate a strong base of influence at the sponsoring community college center. The jail program serves fewer students per teacher than do classes in the community, and cannot maintain the high enrollments expected of other classes. When statewide spending cuts forced the CCD to trim some if its programs, the summer classes at the jail were eliminated, funds for textbooks and supplies were reduced, and the number of teaching hours were reduced in the jail.

Some of the teachers felt that Prisoner Services, as an organization, did not understand the educational needs of the students. One teacher stated that the "social work types" in the jail did not share the teachers' view that literacy was one of the important survival skills for released prisoners. The Prisoner Services school coordinator was not an educator. Some of the teachers questioned the legitimacy of this authority as well as his effectiveness as an administrator and advocate for the school. They looked to their sponsoring college center for support when there were problems. Their periodic efforts (which were not always successful) to involve the CCD in school issues was seen as improper by the coordinator and by Prisoner Services.

In the summer of 1978, the teachers developed a plan to have separate classes for women, to be held in the women's jail. In theory, one of the benefits of coeducation is to "normalize" the basically abnormal situation of confinement and sex segregation for incarcerated people. But the school cannot easily be made "normal" in such a context. The tension and anger

*See the Jail chapter for description of this Sheriff's Department program.

which are reasonable responses to the situation of confinement, are often brought to the classroom. Many of the students also bring with them previous bad experiences in school.

In practice, the teachers felt that coeducation added distractions that made teaching and learning even more difficult. The women students were brought to classes late and taken back early by custody staff, which consistently disrupted classes. Interaction between men and women students, which was sometimes flirtation enjoyed by both parties, and other times unwelcome and persistent advances by male students, often required intervention by a teacher to maintain order. The strong and valid need to interact as men and women, not as prisoners or students, at times overwhelmed the educational process. In addition to improving the atmosphere for learning, separate classes would include women who could not attend the school because they were ineligible for passes to the men's side, and women who were reluctant to go to the school because they found the men's behavior offensive.

The way in which the women's classes were set up, in the summer of 1978, shows the poor communication between the teachers, school coordinator, and Prisoners Services department. While the coordinator was on vacation, one of the teachers, who was acting coordinator, set up a meeting between the CCD supervisor and the Sergeant of the women's jail to discuss creating an academic class in the women's jail. When the coordinator and other Prisoner Services staff found out what had happened, they were outraged. The suggestion should rightfully have gone to them first. Their response to the plan was that having separate classes would deny men and women the only regular chance they had to be together, which was the case. At the time that it was instituted, the school was unique and considered progressive because it was coeducational. It had been an accomplishment of Prisoner Services. It is hard to know how they would have responded to the plan if it had been presented to them directly, or as an additional option to have a women's class, rather than an either/or proposition.

Since the CCD funded and had ultimate authority over the classes, Prisoner Services was not in a position to prevent the reassignment of the teacher to the women's classes, though they encouraged women not to attend the class. Due to their objections, a compromise solution was

worked out shortly after the beginning of the fall semester of 1978. The women prisoners were given a choice of which classes they wanted to attend. By the time that on site observation began during the second semester, the compromise solution seemed to be amicably accepted by both sides.

The fight over coeducation was part of an ongoing struggle for control of the school that hampered its operation. However, there were beneficial results for the women. Their options for education in the jail increased. For example, those who wanted to work on their own, or with some direct help from a teacher, could do so in the smaller and less formal women's class. Some of the eligible women chose to attend the school, and did so exclusively. Others chose the women's classes, and some went to both. Many women who were not eligible for the school were able to attend the women's classes in the women's jail. The improvement in the women's situation was insignificant, however, in light of the fact that few are in jail long enough to benefit from attending classes.

There were problems other than the struggle for control over the school between the CCD and Prisoner Services. The school coordinator had to be constantly vigilant in order to prevent the operations of the school from being subordinated to custody concerns. The sponsoring center was not willing to allocate enough teachers and teaching hours to the school. It did not provide adequate educational and vocational counseling to help students plan for release, which is crucial in light of the relatively short sentences most prisoners serve. Prisoner Services and the teachers, divided on other issues, were not able to unite in order to advocate effectively for the needed services with the CCD.

The classes offered in the jail can be categorized into three types: academic, adult education, and vocational training (the categories are adapted from those used in the national study of women's corrections).

Classes - Spring Semester 1979

Type of Class	Subject	Where Taught: School	Where Taught: Women's Jail
Academic	Reading Improvement	X	
	Basic English	X	
	Advanced English	X	
	Open Class English/Math		X
	Creative Writing	X	
Vocational	Typing	X	X
Adult Education	Sewing		X
	Parent Education		X
	Journalism	X	
	Music	X	

Classes in photography and world history were also held for brief periods during the semester.

The majority of the academic classes were in remedial reading, with a very small GED tutorial program. The school adult education classes were of general interest, while the women's adult education classes in sewing and parent education emphasized the restricted roles of mother and homemaker. The only vocational training offered was typing. The typing classes in the school were more structured than those offered in the women's classes. Several seminars were held in the school on how to apply for a clerical job. The programs in the school and in the women's classes will be described by types of classes.

The School

The school occupies most of a first floor wing of the men's jail. It contains five classrooms, a small library, one classroom converted to an exercise room, two offices, and a storage closet. The classrooms are large and light. A deputy patrols the hall when school is in session.

The women who attend the school are brought to the main jail by a deputy from the women's jail each weekday morning. They wait at the gate to be let into the main corridor of the jail, and then into the school wing by a male deputy. By the time they get to classes, they are usually

a half hour late. They leave the classes early to return, and the procedure is reversed.

The number of women attending classes in the spring of 1979 ranged from two to ten a day, with an average of six women each day. The number of women incarcerated daily ranged from 18-29. It is estimated that the total daily attendance averaged about 20 students, male and female, with a larger number enrolled. More women, relative to their numbers in the jail, participated in classes than did men. About one third of the women were in one of the educational programs, compared to an estimated ten percent of the men.

Over a four month period, thirty four women were enrolled in classes, and attended for periods ranging from one to seven weeks. Their attendance averaged out to just under three weeks per woman, with a weekly attendance of three out of five days per week. Most of the women students took a typing class and an English or tutoring session in the morning, and music or journalism in the afternoon.

Academic Classes

Students who scored below the sixth grade reading level on a literacy screening test were referred to the reading improvement program, which served ten students at a time. After taking a battery of diagnostic tests, students were assigned to tutors trained in reading disabilities. (The tutors were funded through Right to Read, a national literacy program. Their director was a CCD employee. This program was separate from the volunteer tutoring arranged by Prisoner Services.) Each student worked with a tutor for one hour a day for an average of eight to nine weeks. The director estimated that only one quarter of the students in the reading program were women, and that they attended tutoring for shorter periods than did the men. An average gain of over three years, or grades, per one hundred hours of instruction was reported.

The preference for students with longer sentences (so that significant gains could be made) may have limited the number of women enrolled in the program. It is difficult to estimate how many women in the jail had reading levels below sixth grade, and could have benefitted from the program. Of 30 women who took the word recognition test used for screening in the school (San Diego Quick Achievement Test or SQUAT), one third

scored at sixth grade or below. On a more comprehensive test (the Wide Range Achievement Test, or WRAT) administered on a voluntary basis to 18 women, only one sixth scored at sixth grade or below.[7]

English was taught in two sections, one for those at sixth to eighth grade reading levels, and one for those at eighth and above. The high turnover of students and their range of abilities made a consistent learning environment difficult to achieve. For example, on one day when the advanced class was visited, the teacher noted that only half of the students present had been there the day before. One woman present had been at a parole hearing the day before. Two women who usually attended class were locked in their cells for infractions. Several male students had locked themselves in their cells in protest over issues unrelated to the school.

In both classes, there were moments when the enjoyment of learning triumphed over the jail setting. In the lower class, there was haltingly and painfully achieved progress in sounding out unfamiliar words. In the other class, a speculative short story on evolution was read with interest and provoked discussion. But the distractions were many. One student arrived a half hour late because the bars of his cell were judged to be dirty. Another student was asked to leave the class several times because he was bothering one of the women students. Neither case was unique to this particular class, but rather was a typical occurrence in the school.

In mid-semester, Prisoner Services, working with the educational coordinator, instituted a program to tutor students for the GED test (high school equivalency). Five volunteers came to the jail two evenings a week, each tutoring one student. At the end of the semester, a coordinator was hired for six hours a week by the sponsoring CCD center. While these tutors could go to the women's jail (the reading improvement program operated only in the school), few women participated. It seems that poor communication may have limited the women's access to this, as well as other services.

Vocational Classes

Nearly all the students in the school took a typing class. They practiced on manual typewriters, using old self-instruction books. As the teacher made the rounds of the class, they typed and chatted. The students seemed to enjoy the opportunity to make concrete, measurable

progress. The teacher estimated that three or four students a month could qualify for clerical jobs on release.

A pilot project was started by Prisoner Services and the school to help the students find clerical jobs. A personnel employee from the phone company came to the jail several times to give seminars on how to apply for clerical jobs. Students interested in working for the phone company were prescreened by the school educational counselor and referred to the company for testing and interviews. By late summer, one woman had successfully completed the application process, and was waiting for a job opening. Her skills and job history were significantly stronger than were those of most of the women interviewed.

Adult Education

Advanced musicians attended a music class five afternoons a week. An instructor, sponsored by the city arts council, was present on Wednesday through Friday. He incorporated less advanced musicians, singers, and dancers into the performance-oriented class. All the women fit into the latter two categories. The music was soulful, and the atmosphere relaxed. Deputies peered in frequently to ensure that it did not get too relaxed.

In the journalism class, students produced a lively quarterly newspaper which included poetry, interviews, features, and educational information. A rap session on world affairs and a photography class were held weekly for part of the semester, though few women participated in either.

Problems with Coeducation

There were many obstacles to the women's full and equal participation in the coeducational school. Some of the communication and logistics problems that made it hard for the women to get to classes on time were due to the secondary status and isolation of the small women's unit in a predominantly male jail. Also, the work involved in transporting the women and safeguarding them in the man's jail did not endear coeducation to the custody staff. Some of the women deputies felt, perhaps with justification in some cases, that the women who went to the school were not serious about learning, and only went to see men. It is interesting that this comment was never made about male students, to whom it would apply equally. One

male deputy said that it wasn't worth the trouble to have the women come to the school, because it got the men agitated.

These comments indicate that the custody staff may have been biased, seeing the women as the cause of disciplinary problems in the school. In other situations when men and women prisoners came into contact, such as at concerts, anecdotal evidence suggests that women were more likely than men to be punished for infractions of strict rules forbidding cross-sex interaction. Given the small number of women in the jail, and the general conditions of sex segregation, it is to be expected that their presence would attract a lot of attention. To blame them, alone, for this situation is not equitable. Some women enjoyed the coeducational classes, and the attention they received. Others appreciated the diversity of the class and had mixed feelings about the attention they received. Many women who were interviewed said that they decided not to go to school, or quit after a few weeks, because they did not like the behavior of the men students. It may be that due to the environment, problems arising from coeducation are inevitable. In addition to the logistical problems, sex role expectations for men and women in this milieu presented serious obstacles.

The Women's Classes

Though several kinds of classes were taught in the women's jail, there was no physical or social structure that could be called a school. Three teachers taught classes at different times. Classes were open to all women, and no special clearance or classification was necessary. For these reasons, and because the women's classes were always physically accessible, women were more easily able to join and leave classes here than in the school.

Academic and Vocational Class

The newly instituted women's classes ran for two hours in the mornings and offered English, math and typing in one open classroom format. The basement room that had been cleared out for the class was very small,

approximately ten feet by six feet. Exposed pipes and heating ducts criss-crossed the ceiling. Posters and students' artwork and writing covered the walls. One louvered window and another covered with a bright batik let in light. Though the room was crowded with bookshelves, small desks pushed together to make a rectangular table, and typewriters on desks edging the walls, it was the warmest and most inviting room in the jail.

When the class first started, there were structured sessions of math, English and typing. As time went on, the activities of the day were decided when the teacher saw who came to class and what their interests were. Students were free to come when they wanted. The teacher did not give any formal tests, but worked with new students to see what their abilities were. Attendance appeared to vary from four to eight students, with an enrollment ranging from six to twelve.

In the first half of the class, students worked on math problems and vocabulary lists, used workbooks, or read from a wide variety of poetry and short stories. During one class visited, students took turns reading aloud a short story about a child's relationship to a new stepmother, written by Nadine Gordimer. The women's expressions showed their interest and involvement in the story, though the discussion afterward was subdued.

Typing was usually restricted to the second half of the class. Women were able to brush up typing skills, work from self-instructional books, and type letters and stories. Because the teacher was not trained to teach typing, and it was not offered as formally and consistently as in the school, it would be more properly seen as a classroom activity, rather than true vocational training.

The teacher was open in her affection for and acceptance of the women. She believed that her role was to fill the women's immediate needs, both educational and emotional. One student commented that the class was comfortable for everyone, and completely different from the rest of the jail, where the women were just "'jailing' or talking bullshit." She explained that this meant talking about the street life and drugs, and causing trouble just for something to do. The classroom did seem like a refuge from the rest of the jail, which was at times quiet, but not in a relaxed way, and often raucous. The women's enjoyment of the classes was obvious and the environment was more conducive to learning than that of the school.

Adult Education

The Parent Education class was started the first semester of the school year at the request of the sergeant, who wanted to bring a variety of practical lifeskills courses to the women. A teacher from the Parent Education Department of the CCD taught a class one evening a week. The informal class combined discussions of women's issues with childbirth and parenting.

The sewing class was a fixture in the women's jail, having been taught for four years by the same woman. Six sewing machines were set up in the dining room for this class. At the time the class was visited, twelve out of the seventeen women in jail were enrolled. The teacher stayed in contact with many of the women after release, and wanted to establish a continuing class on the outside for them, but could not find funds for the purchase of sewing machines. The priorities which led to the existence of a sewing class while there was little or no education and vocational counseling were wrong, but women liked the class because they made clothes for themselves and their children, and because the teacher was dedicated and cared for them very much.

While the educational program was more accessible than was the school, it did not offer the diversity and specialized services that the school did. Although in some ways the atmosphere was more conducive to learning in the women's classes, the program was not equal.

Educational and Vocational Counseling

During the time that the study was conducted, the educational counselor left the school. He was replaced by a teacher whose classes in mathematics and psychology were cancelled because of overall low enrollment in the school. She was allotted only ten working hours per week to do educational and vocational counseling. Her job included giving a literacy test and interviewing all students entering the jail school, which took up the bulk of her time.

She referred students to two of the community college centers for educational and vocational counseling. She also informed students of the

testing dates for entrance to the City College and helped them fill out grant applications, and screened students who wanted to work for the phone company. The coordinator, who was familiar with the application processes at local schools, worked with her. The director of the reading tutoring program also did some counseling.

This work was done in a piecemeal fashion, and for the most part was not well-coordinated with the release planning done by Prisoner Services. It was not available to women unless they came to the men's jail to school. The educational counselor did not have enough time to visit most of the schools to which she could refer students. She felt that the prisoners needed far more support to help them make the transition to schools and jobs than the school was providing.

Once they were released, no assistance or support was provided to students who wanted to continue their education. The sponsoring center specialized in classes for students who are non-native English speakers, and in Adult Basic Education. It assumed no obligation to help students enroll in its own or other CCD classes. Students were told when they entered the jail school that they would receive credits toward a high school diploma, to be registered at the sponsoring center. One of the teachers believed that the students were not actually aware that the school was connected with the community college. She suggested to one of the researchers that a sign should be posted to that effect, with information on how to get a transcript. Although the college centers (some of which offered vocational training) were a free and potentially valuable resource, the sponsoring center did little to help students use them.

No one in the women's jail was specifically responsible for educational counseling. The Parent Education teacher brought several people from outside schools to her class, and counseled a few students who wanted to go to school. The Director of the Women's Reentry Program (WREP) at City College, and a representative from San Francisco State University came to the class. The WREP Director also came to the jail when contacted by prisoners or staff.

The teacher of the women's class had brochures available on the community college centers and on WREP. She referred interested women to the sponsoring center, and to another center. She did not emphasize

outside educational programs, however. Her class was oriented to providing a positive experience for the women while they were in jail. She believed that if women found the inward motivation, they would not have trouble finding the programs once they were released.

The lack of adequate transitional services takes on special significance when the short amount of time that the women were in jail is considered. As stated before, nearly seventy percent (68.1 percent) of the women interviewed were sentenced to ninety days or less. When deductions are made for work done in the jail and for good behavior, this amounts to approximately fifty-nine days actually served. This is certainly not sufficient time for them to make real educational gains. It would be the perfect opportunity, however, to help them identify their educational strengths and weaknesses, to brush up on basic skills, to develop educational and vocational plans, and to make a connection with a program that would be suitable for them on release.

The women need adequate educational and vocational counseling. There are a variety of options for continuing education in the city, many of which they would have difficulty finding out about on their own. While there are fewer vocational training programs, they do exist, and should also be made available.

Simply providing information about such programs would not be sufficient, although it would be an improvement. Many women in the interview sample said they wanted to go to school or get skills training when released, but did not know where. Very few, if any, of the women could afford to go to school or participate in a training program without receiving grants and stipends. They needed help dealing with other financial problems, and often lacked basic resources and the stability that would allow them to make future plans. When asked if she planned to go to school when she was released, one woman asked, "How can I go to school when I don't know where I'm going to sleep?"

Recommendations

For an educational and vocational counseling program to be effective, it would have to work closely with other adequate release planning efforts. As described before, Prisoner Services was understaffed, and could help

most women only with legal and emergency problems. So both educational and vocational counseling, and general planning, would have to be considerably strengthened. Women would also need counseling, resources, and support in the difficult period immediately after release. If the women were to make contact while in jail with someone who would help them bridge the educational gap between jail and the outside, the possibilities for success would be greater. Specific individuals in community educational and vocational programs should be designated to work with the women getting out of jail. If these individuals were sensitized to the special needs and problems of the women, they might be able to minimize the frustration that is often involved in dealing with bureaucracy. For example, the long time needed to complete and process applications often means women have to wait several months before beginning classes.

Sixty-six percent of the women interviewed had completed eleventh grade or less; over fifty-four percent had completed between ninth and eleventh grade. A high priority, therefore, would be to develop links with all programs that allow women to get a high school equivalency degree, or to enroll in college or training programs without one, and provide financial support. The City College is one example of such a program which has extended its excellent support services, such as WREP, peer counselors, tutoring, and college orientation to the women in the jail. Other programs funded by the CCD, such as vocational training in trade and industry, and apprenticeships in crafts, and by CETA, which would meet the needs of the women, should be linked to a jail counseling program.

Using the period of incarceration for an intensive planning effort dealing with personal as well as educational and vocational needs would be useful to the women prisoners. The location of the jail, fifteen miles from the service providers, schools and training programs, makes it difficult for them to meet with representatives of these programs. The current policy of limiting phone contact to two collect calls per day also makes it very hard for women to inaugurate any plans, or even to gather the needed information. A change in this policy, and an intensive effort by a counselor to bring appropriate people to the jail would be one way of beginning such a planning effort.

A more effective way to provide the services that the women need

would be to have them serve their sentences in a community-based facility. While under supervision in a work and education furlough facility, the women would be released during the day to work or study, or to make plans to do so. Such a facility currently exists for male prisoners. A pilot program for women, which could only accommodate up to five women, was closed during the study period. Efforts to resuscitate the furlough program are underway, but have not been successful to date.

If such a program existed for wonen, they could more easily arrange for their personal needs and for the care of their children. They could research available educational and vocational programs and enroll in them, or work if they chose to and were able to find employment. A furlough program could eliminate the problem of transition from the jail to an outside program. The women could continue the same program once they were released. Those who had been enrolled in school before they were sentenced would not have their education interrupted. The resources and support services developed for a furlough program could be shared with the few women who would remain in the jail because they were not eligible due to the type of crime they had been charged with, or the stipulation of the sentencing judge.

Footnotes

1. State of California, Employment Development Department, Annual Planning Information: San Francisco City and County, 1978-79 (San Francisco: Employment Data Research, 1979), p. 78.

2. John U. Ogbu, Minority Education and Caste, The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective (New York: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 43-44.

3. See Ogbu, pp. 28-29, 40-42, 98-100.

4. William Ryan, Blaming the Victim (New York: Random House, Inc., 1976).

5. U.S. General Accounting Office, Female Offenders: Who Are They and What Are the Problems Confronting Them? (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1979), p. 31.

6. John Irwin, Steven Haberfeld, Marjorie Seashore, and Donald Leonard, An Evaluation of NewGate and Other Prisoner Education Programs: Final Report: April 1973 (San Francisco: Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn, 1973).

7. Since two different sets of women took different tests (with the exception of one woman, who took both), it is difficult to compare the results. The higher scores obtained on the WRAT may be due to the fact that it was voluntary, and those who had good reading skills chose to take the test. Eleven of the 18 women scored at ninth grade or above, and four of them scored at twelfth grade or above on the WRAT.

V

COMMUNITY RESOURCES

Most of the women released from San Bruno County Jail expected to have a variety of service needs on their return to the community. While this study focused on their educational and vocational training requirements, it became clear that problems of immediate survival had to be met before longer term goals could be considered. Moreover, in order to increase opportunities and provide choices, the women needed to be aware of the range of community resources which were or could be available to them. Consequently, site visits were paid to 45 different programs in the city to determine the extent to which existing services met the needs of, and were utilized by, released women.[1] The programs offered the following types of services:

Pre-release and transitional services
Immediate survival resources
Vocational training
Employment services
Education
Drug programs
Other services

Many of the programs were aimed primarily at the economically disadvantaged. Others were designed for ex-offenders, and several were organized specifically for women. While there were a variety of different services available in the community, their actual impact on released women was far less than their range and numbers would imply. This chapter provides a brief description of the resources surveyed. Additional information is in Appendix A. Programmatic and other factors which affected the quality of service and effectiveness of delivery to women ex-offenders are discussed in the following chapter.

Pre-Release and Transitional Services

There were a number of pre-release, post-release and transitional services for jail inmates. Pre-release programs included re-entry planning, referrals to community programs, assistance in applying for parole (See Chapter III), and provision of temporary identification papers on release. While one program assigned a part-time worker to the women's jail, all other programs were based in the men's jail and saw women inmates only sporadically. As a result many of the women received little or no pre-release planning.

Post release programs involved supervision of jail releasees to insure compliance with conditions stipulated on release. Inmates released on parole or probation came under the purview of these programs, which provided counseling and referrals to community drug, vocational training and job placement programs. With some exceptions, due to staffing and other limitations, service workers in these programs usually had large caseloads and were unable to offer their clients more than monthly surveillance checks.

Immediate Survival Resources

Most women inmates lacked minimal resources to meet immediate survival needs on release. Several programs in the city provided emergency services in the form of temporary housing, food, clothes and funds, to tide clients over until they were able either to obtain a job or complete processing for longer-term welfare assistance. While two of the six programs visited were offered to all city indigents, four were ex-offender programs and three of the latter were temporary residential facilities specifically for female ex-offenders or other women in need. Only one of the services, a welfare-assistance program, which many inmates relied upon for emergency funds on release, had a worker assigned part-time to the jail. His office was located in the men's facility and he reported rarely screening women inmates, due to their isolation and fewer numbers. The ex-offender programs all offered counseling and referrals to community agencies, in addition to meeting short-term support needs.

Only when women jail releasees were able to meet basic survival needs could they then attempt to meet some of their longer term requirements. Acquiring or upgrading job skills in order to obtain decent employment was often their next goal.

Vocational Training

San Francisco offered vocational training for the economically and educationally disadvantaged primarily through three major sources. One of these, the federal manpower program (CETA), administered through the Mayor's office, provided both classroom and on the job training through contracts with public and private agencies.[2] The vocational program was geared to groups traditionally underrepresented in the stable work force, i.e., the poor, minorities, women and youth, and provided clients a stipend equivalent to the minimum wage during the training period. CETA funded vocational training programs offered training primarily in white collar jobs in the clerical, secretarial and nursing fields. While offenders were approximately 6% of the city's population targeted for training and other services, there were no vocational training programs specifically for ex-prisoners at the time of the study. Moreover, most CETA funded vocational training classes required that applicants pass an adult basic education test, at a specified level of literacy, before they were admitted.

Another major source for vocational training was the occupational and continuing education component of the city's community college district. This component was comprised of eight tuition-free community college centers, along with five satellite operations, which offered classes at numerous sites in the city. Each center specialized in particular kinds of skills training which ranged from adult basic education and GED preparation, to training in the clerical, health and technical trades fields. One of the community college centers sponsored the educational program for jail inmates described in Chapter IV. Another of the centers provided most of the classroom training offered through the federal manpower program described above.

A federal and state supported rehabilitation program for the

physically and mentally disabled was the third major source of job training for city residents. This program provided subsidized training and other employment related services to clients adjudged capable of holding a job after receiving needed services. The program offered no services specifically for ex-offenders, but had contacts with a number of community agencies, including alcoholic and drug treatment programs, through which clients were referred and accepted on the basis of their disabilities and potential for rehabilitation.

Employment Services

Many of the women, in addition to vocational and skills training, required instruction in how to look for, obtain, and keep a job. Employment services, which included job search techniques, career counseling, job referrals, placement and development were offered, to some extent, by most of the agencies providing vocational training.

For example, the federal manpower program provided job placement for CETA trainees, and funded various community organizations for affirmative action job placements in private industry. In addition, the manpower program offered direct job placement in public service employment. These jobs were intended to give the unskilled and economically disadvantaged work experience in limited tenure (18 months) white collar positions that would prepare them for permanent employment in both the public and private sectors. Most public service employment, however, was in administrative or clerical positions that required prior work experience or higher education. Although ex-offenders were targetted for job placement services under the manpower program, there was no unit which specifically assisted them with jobs. Moreover, most ex-offenders through either lack of sufficient education and experience, or their criminal records, were excluded from many public service jobs.

In addition to the job placement components of vocational training programs, there were other, government funded employment services, specializing in job referrals, job workshops, employment counseling and testing for the unemployed and the economically disadvantaged. The

state's employment services office, for example, offered daily job listings and referrals, along with a free job search workshop. The federal WIN program, similarly, assisted AFDC parents to conduct a concentrated job search, in a program which taught job seeking skills and coordinated job referrals. A secondary emphasis of the WIN program involved employability training through CETA and other vocational education programs.[3]

Several employment services were oriented specifically to ex-offenders. One of these, a component of the state employment services office specialized in job placement, development and follow-up for ex-prisoners, while also offering limited direct funding and referrals to community programs and other emergency resources. The other ex-offender orgnizations provided services which ranged from search techniques, to counseling, referrals and follow-up. With one exception, relatively few women were served by the ex-offender employment programs. Those women who were served tended to be placed in menial, low status jobs or, if they had more education, in clerical and other low-paying positions traditionally assigned to women.

Counter to this, two federally funded apprenticeship programs offered employment services to women (either exclusively or prominently) assisting them to find non-traditional jobs in the trades and other blue collar fields. All apprenticeships required, at a minimum, a high school diploma or equivalent. Consequently, both programs offered GED and exam tutoring, along with job counseling and job referrals. When necessary, clients were also referred for skills training to community vocational classes. While neither currently recruited in the local jail, both programs were receptive to working with female jail releasees.

Education

Vocational training classes and all but the most menial jobs often required either a high school diploma (or equivalent), or the ability to pass functional literacy or entry level examinations. Many of the women released from jail were high school drop-outs, or lacked adequate

skills in reading, writing and math. Consequently, in order to meet basic qualifications for training and jobs, some required tutoring and remedial education. San Francisco offered a number of adult education classes for residents.

The learning center, located in a low income neighborhood, offered adult basic education, GED preparation, tutoring for some entry level job examinations and for the adult basic education test, which was a prerequisite for most CETA funded vocational training classes. GED preparation was also offered at most of the community college centers and in many community training programs. The GED testing center was located at the district headquarters of the community college centers. A passing score on the test was equivalent to a high school diploma and could be used to qualify for apprenticeship programs, jobs and in partial fulfillment of admissions requirements at institutions of higher learning. The city also offered school leavers at least four additional options for obtaining the high school diploma.[4] In addition, one of the community college centers, located in an economically disadvantaged neighborhood, offered a traditional high school program for adults, along with courses in adult basic education, GED preparation and training in the allied health fields. In the past, jail releasees had been referred to the school as a condition of parole. At the time of the study, although school staff expressed the need for more effective contact with jail programs in order to better meet the needs of released prisoners, no effective liaison had been established.

The only CETA funded basic education program specifically for ex-offenders focused on motivational literacy training for the youthful offender, aged 16-21. Aside from literacy training, the program provided tutoring for the high school proficiency, and the GED test, as well as job counseling and training in job readiness and job seeking skills. Students, at the conclusion were helped either to enroll in college or find a job.

Tuition free post high school education was available to community residents at San Francisco city college which offered a two year academic program leading to the Associate of Arts degree. The city college was the academic wing of the community college district which also included

the community college centers' vocational classes described above. The city college was oriented to students from economically and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds. It featured both remedial courses and open admission, accepting all students over 17 with or without a high school diploma. The excellent institutional supportive services were geared to recruiting and retaining students who had experienced academic difficulty while in high school. These services included a campus-wide tutoring program, a health service with licensed psychological counseling and group therapy, a career guidance center and a job placement office. Three of the college's supportive services, i.e., financial aid, extended opportunities, and women's re-entry, were of critical importance to those women jail releasees who hoped to continue their education after release.

Both the extended opportunities and women's re-entry programs actively recruited low income students and offered supportive services which included tutoring, academic, personal and career counseling, referrals to community programs, and classes in college survival and study skills. The former recruited in federal correctional institutions and halfway houses, and, until two years previously, had a special ex-offenders' project which recruited directly from local jails. While this project had been terminated, extended opportunities staff were still very interested in jail recruitment, particularly at the women's facility. The women's re-entry program assisted women with multiple barriers to return to school. It provided returning women students, typically older, single, welfare mothers, who had had academic difficulties in high school, with a drop-in center where they could get assertiveness training and organize into support groups. Re-entry staff were eager to work with women ex-prisoners and had attempted to add a women's ex-offender component to the program. However the proposed component, which would have included a recruiter at the women's jail to do pre-release counseling, financial aid preparation and college orientation prior to the inmate's release, was not funded.

The financial aids office provided students with loans, grants and work study. Funds were allocated on the basis of need, although after the first year, students were required to maintain a C (2.0) grade point average. Half of all students at the institution were on financial aid. Many found that attending the college not only increased their academic

skills, but also improved their financial status. For example, welfare mothers, who enrolled full-time, could virtually double their incomes, i.e., they could receive educational grants in addition to their welfare payments. An economically disadvantaged resident could receive twice as much from federal education grants and work-study as from the community's welfare-assistance program.[5]

San Francisco, in addition to the community college, was also the site of a state university. This four year institution, despite more rigorous admissions requirements, had, for over ten years, operated an ex-offenders' special admissions program which assisted ex-prisoners to enroll, and provided some supportive services. Formerly, the program had budget restrictions and was unable to do direct recruiting. Recently, due to increased funding, an expanded staff planned active recruitment in the local jails, as well as in prisons and halfway houses. Accordingly, inmates who wanted to continue their education would be able to complete all necessary paperwork for admissions and financial aid prior to release, so that current difficulties with late registration and late financial aid would be avoided. Another goal of the expanded recruitment effort was to attract more women to the program.

Drug Programs

Women inmates, in addition to the need for jobs, vocational training and education, also often required help with drug problems, on release. The community offered several drug treatment alternatives, ranging from one-year, drug free residential programs, to out-patient methadone maintenance clinics.

Out-patient programs were either drug-free or methadone maintenance. The latter generally charged a fee. All provided extended vocational, individual and group counseling along with referrals to community resources, in addition to medical treatment. The community's mental health program operated both types of out-patient facilities to residents of a low-income district of the city. Another low-income area was served by a federally funded free medical clinic which offered drug free de-toxification and

aftercare. A private agency, funded by state and federal money, provided methadone maintenance through three clinics in the city. One of these, for pregnant women, was located in the general hospital. It offered specialized classes and infant care, in addition to the other supportive services associated with methadone maintenance.

The drug-free residential program visited was a co-ed facility for ex-offenders which served as an alternative to jail. The year-long program involved counseling, completion of high school work for the diploma or equivalent, educational and vocational classes, and job readiness training. It also held a number of workshops specifically for women residents. At the conclusion of the program, clients were provided a supportive milieu for gradual transition back into the community.

Other Programs

Two additional programs provided services for specialized clientele in the community. One of these supervised children ruled in need of protection by the court due to neglect or abuse. Their parents had temporarily lost legal custody until they proved able to provide an adequate home. Occasionally women with dependent children, who were unable to make informal arrangements for their care, lost custody when they were incarcerated. Since there were no linkages between program social workers and parent inmates, women whose children were court dependents were often unaware of steps they could take to regain custody after release. Consequently, they often suffered considerable anxiety over their children while in jail. A final program visited was a support group for middle aged women who were alone. While most participants were from middle class backgrounds, the staff expressed an interest in including women ex-prisoners in their activities.

Summary of Program Characteristics

As noted in Appendix A, most community programs contacted originated relatively recently, the majority in the 70's. Funding was predominantly through government sources, although a few relied on private sector support or donations. Standards of eligibility depended on the type of program and the constituency it was designed to serve. Prospective clients learned of the various services through word of mouth or, if already in contact with other community programs, through agency referrals. Very few of the programs kept records of the number of ex-offenders served. Thus most of the figures cited in Appendix A represent rough estimates and, in a few cases, were not available. Program representatives noted, with a few exceptions, that they attempted to refer their clients to other agencies as needed, however their ability to do so was in fact often limited. Although women releasees tended to qualify for most of the programs on the basis of socio-economic or ex-prisoner status, and were exclusively eligible for several by virtue of sex, staff of a number of programs reported that, in fact, they served relatively few women. Moreover, there was no comprehensive community ex-offender program geared specifically to women jail releasees at the time of the study. (See Appendix A for other characteristics of the programs.)

In sum, while San Francisco had a wide range of community educational, manpower and other services for the economically disadvantaged and while there were several programs for ex-offenders, women ex-offenders tended to be overlooked. In part, this was related to the fact that San Francisco had a large number of people under community correctional control, many of whom required community services. In 1977, for example, 10,651 people, or 89% of all those convicted of offenses, were on county parole or probation, rather than in jail.[6] Thus, women released from San Bruno became part of a large population characterized by broadly similar service needs. Moreover, since males were the great majority of those under community corrections, as well as in jail, many community programs tended to be oriented to them and to be insensitive to the special needs of women. Women releasees also experienced a number of other gaps which affected program accessibility. The following chapter examines programmatic

and broader societal factors that negatively affected the re-entry efforts of women ex-prisoners in San Francisco.

Footnotes

1. Initially, a questionnaire was mailed to 216 community agencies, however, only 68 responded. Subsequently, site visits were paid those programs, identified on the basis of inmate interviews, as offering the types of services most needed by released women. All programs were visited between February and August, 1979. Consequently the discussion refers to that six-month period.

2. Most CETA funded classroom vocational training took place through the local community college center. Those who requested training in a marketable skill for which there was no existing subsidized classroom program, however, were referred to CETA's Individual Referral Program under which they could be placed in an individually tailored program at a private institution.

3. Policy with respect to the WIN program varied from one period to the next. Thus, one year earlier, the job search was mandatory for WIN registrants, while during the site visit, it was voluntary. For a discussion of policy changes in the WIN program, see Patricia Cayo Sexton, Women and Work (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 45-52.

4. Adults who did not graduate from high school could obtain a diploma in one of the following ways: 1) completing a specified number of credits with at least 20 taken at the community college centers; 2) passing the GED tests and then completing 20 selected credits at the community college centers; 3) passing the GED test and taking two specified academic courses at the community college and 4) entering a competency-based high school program at district headquarters, where credit was given for tests passed rather than classroom seat-time.

5. During the study period, a single, self-supporting resident, enrolled in the community college full-time, could receive approximately $418 a month (after school fees and supplies were deducted), from the

college's financial aid's office. This amount more than doubled the value of the monthly General Assistance payments.

6. State of California, Employment Development Department, Annual Planning Information: San Francisco City and County, 1979-80 (San Francisco: Employment Data Research, 1979), p. 78.

VI

PROBLEMS OF RE-ENTRY

Women released from San Bruno County jail experienced a number of problems on re-entry into the community. Difficulties stemmed from at least three sources: the characteristics of many of the women; the treatment they experienced while incarcerated; and barriers they encountered in the community on release.

As we have seen, many of the women were impoverished and under-educated with few job skills. A number were wholly or partially responsible for young children and had been unable to find legitimate employment which would adequately support themselves and their offspring. They often had serious health problems such as drug or alcohol addiction. Many were serving time for economic or victimless crimes, which were direct responses to the lack of life options created by barriers of race, sex and low socio-economic status. Consequently, they were often in desperate need of personal counseling, health care, and educational and vocational programs while in jail.

Despite the multiple problems these women experienced, jail programs fell drastically short of their needs. In part this was because services for all jail inmates, male and female, were inadequate.[1] However, due to gender role ideology and relative isolation, many of the women did not receive even the minimal assistance provided the male inmates. Thus they spent much of their sentence in idleness. For a number, the situation was exacerbated by anxieties regarding their children and family ties, or their worry over an apartment or personal possessions left untended.

One reason given for inadequate facilities in jails, is that misdemeanants serve such short sentences compared to felons that they are not in jail long enough to benefit from services. Thus, over two-thirds of the inmates in this study were sentenced to terms of three months or less. Short sentences, however, would not represent a barrier, provided there were adequate pre-release and referral services. A two or three month stay could be used to properly evaluate those women with serious problems, provide initial services and make referrals at release to community agencies capable of providing continued services.[2]

Alternatively, the lack of sufficient programs for women seems to perpetuate the necessity for maintaining the jail. Thus the inadequacy of pre-release and other jail services is a major element in a "revolving door syndrome" characterized by recidivism rates estimated at 80-85% nationwide for women jail releasees.[3] Similarly, an overwhelming majority of the women studied at San Bruno were chronic petty offenders with a history of prior jail sentences. Most expressed hopes for a good job, or for more education in the future. More critically, they spoke of problems of immediate survival they would face on release. Many however did not receive information and referrals to appropriate health and educational services in the community. Rather, on release they were given carfare, dropped off in the middle of town, and left to find a place to stay, food and money with few constructive ideas of where to go for help. Yet, as the previous chapter showed, there were a number of emergency and other services in the community which were available to people in need. These were important potential sources of assistance to meet both short and longer term needs.

The low priority assigned pre-release, educational and counseling programs at San Bruno reflects the differential emphasis given two contradictory notions about the appropriate functions of the jail, that is, whether it exists primarily to punish offenders, or to rehabilitate them and prepare them for reintegration.[4] Corrections personnel who feel that reintegration should be an important goal of the institution point out that crime is a symptom not only of individual problems, but also of community malfunctioning. Thus, people who are denied adequate education and jobs may feel they have no recourse but crime. This may be particularly the case for women who must contend with sex, as well as class and race inequities. According to this approach, a successful treatment program entails working not only with prisoners, but also with the community to ensure that resources are both available and sensitive to the needs of inmates on their release.[5] For, even if adequate educational and vocational training programs are provided in the jail and if inmates are fully informed of community resources, the rehabilitation program is a failure if releasees are unable to enter training programs or to obtain jobs due to discrimination.[6] Unfortunately, as this chapter shows, ex-prisoners

most women only with legal and emergency problems. So both educational and vocational counseling, and general planning, would have to be considerably strengthened. Women would also need counseling, resources, and support in the difficult period immediately after release. If the women were to make contact while in jail with someone who would help them bridge the educational gap between jail and the outside, the possibilities for success would be greater. Specific individuals in community educational and vocational programs should be designated to work with the women getting out of jail. If these individuals were sensitized to the special needs and problems of the women, they might be able to minimize the frustration that is often involved in dealing with bureaucracy. For example, the long time needed to complete and process applications often means women have to wait several months before beginning classes.

Sixty-six percent of the women interviewed had completed eleventh grade or less; over fifty-four percent had completed between ninth and eleventh grade. A high priority, therefore, would be to develop links with all programs that allow women to get a high school equivalency degree, or to enroll in college or training programs without one, and provide financial support. The City College is one example of such a program which has extended its excellent support services, such as WREP, peer counselors, tutoring, and college orientation to the women in the jail. Other programs funded by the CCD, such as vocational training in trade and industry, and apprenticeships in crafts, and by CETA, which would meet the needs of the women, should be linked to a jail counseling program.

Using the period of incarceration for an intensive planning effort dealing with personal as well as educational and vocational needs would be useful to the women prisoners. The location of the jail, fifteen miles from the service providers, schools and training programs, makes it difficult for them to meet with representatives of these programs. The current policy of limiting phone contact to two collect calls per day also makes it very hard for women to inaugurate any plans, or even to gather the needed information. A change in this policy, and an intensive effort by a counselor to bring appropriate people to the jail would be one way of beginning such a planning effort.

A more effective way to provide the services that the women need

would be to have them serve their sentences in a community-based facility. While under supervision in a work and education furlough facility, the women would be released during the day to work or study, or to make plans to do so. Such a facility currently exists for male prisoners. A pilot program for women, which could only accommodate up to five women, was closed during the study period. Efforts to resuscitate the furlough program are underway, but have not been successful to date.

If such a program existed for wonen, they could more easily arrange for their personal needs and for the care of their children. They could research available educational and vocational programs and enroll in them, or work if they chose to and were able to find employment. A furlough program could eliminate the problem of transition from the jail to an outside program. The women could continue the same program once they were released. Those who had been enrolled in school before they were sentenced would not have their education interrupted. The resources and support services developed for a furlough program could be shared with the few women who would remain in the jail because they were not eligible due to the type of crime they had been charged with, or the stipulation of the sentencing judge.

Footnotes

1. State of California, Employment Development Department, Annual Planning Information: San Francisco City and County, 1978-79 (San Francisco: Employment Data Research, 1979), p. 78.

2. John U. Ogbu, Minority Education and Caste, The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective (New York: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 43-44.

3. See Ogbu, pp. 28-29, 40-42, 98-100.

4. William Ryan, Blaming the Victim (New York: Random House, Inc., 1976).

5. U.S. General Accounting Office, Female Offenders: Who Are They and What Are the Problems Confronting Them? (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1979), p. 31.

6. John Irwin, Steven Haberfeld, Marjorie Seashore, and Donald Leonard, An Evaluation of NewGate and Other Prisoner Education Programs: Final Report: April 1973 (San Francisco: Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn, 1973).

7. Since two different sets of women took different tests (with the exception of one woman, who took both), it is difficult to compare the results. The higher scores obtained on the WRAT may be due to the fact that it was voluntary, and those who had good reading skills chose to take the test. Eleven of the 18 women scored at ninth grade or above, and four of them scored at twelfth grade or above on the WRAT.

V

COMMUNITY RESOURCES

Most of the women released from San Bruno County Jail expected to have a variety of service needs on their return to the community. While this study focused on their educational and vocational training requirements, it became clear that problems of immediate survival had to be met before longer term goals could be considered. Moreover, in order to increase opportunities and provide choices, the women needed to be aware of the range of community resources which were or could be available to them. Consequently, site visits were paid to 45 different programs in the city to determine the extent to which existing services met the needs of, and were utilized by, released women.[1] The programs offered the following types of services:

Pre-release and transitional services
Immediate survival resources
Vocational training
Employment services
Education
Drug programs
Other services

Many of the programs were aimed primarily at the economically disadvantaged. Others were designed for ex-offenders, and several were organized specifically for women. While there were a variety of different services available in the community, their actual impact on released women was far less than their range and numbers would imply. This chapter provides a brief description of the resources surveyed. Additional information is in Appendix A. Programmatic and other factors which affected the quality of service and effectiveness of delivery to women ex-offenders are discussed in the following chapter.

Pre-Release and Transitional Services

There were a number of pre-release, post-release and transitional services for jail inmates. Pre-release programs included re-entry planning, referrals to community programs, assistance in applying for parole (See Chapter III), and provision of temporary identification papers on release. While one program assigned a part-time worker to the women's jail, all other programs were based in the men's jail and saw women inmates only sporadically. As a result many of the women received little or no pre-release planning.

Post release programs involved supervision of jail releasees to insure compliance with conditions stipulated on release. Inmates released on parole or probation came under the purview of these programs, which provided counseling and referrals to community drug, vocational training and job placement programs. With some exceptions, due to staffing and other limitations, service workers in these programs usually had large caseloads and were unable to offer their clients more than monthly surveillance checks.

Immediate Survival Resources

Most women inmates lacked minimal resources to meet immediate survival needs on release. Several programs in the city provided emergency services in the form of temporary housing, food, clothes and funds, to tide clients over until they were able either to obtain a job or complete processing for longer-term welfare assistance. While two of the six programs visited were offered to all city indigents, four were ex-offender programs and three of the latter were temporary residential facilities specifically for female ex-offenders or other women in need. Only one of the services, a welfare-assistance program, which many inmates relied upon for emergency funds on release, had a worker assigned part-time to the jail. His office was located in the men's facility and he reported rarely screening women inmates, due to their isolation and fewer numbers. The ex-offender programs all offered counseling and referrals to community agencies, in addition to meeting short-term support needs.

Only when women jail releasees were able to meet basic survival needs could they then attempt to meet some of their longer term requirements. Acquiring or upgrading job skills in order to obtain decent employment was often their next goal.

Vocational Training

San Francisco offered vocational training for the economically and educationally disadvantaged primarily through three major sources. One of these, the federal manpower program (CETA), administered through the Mayor's office, provided both classroom and on the job training through contracts with public and private agencies.[2] The vocational program was geared to groups traditionally underrepresented in the stable work force, i.e., the poor, minorities, women and youth, and provided clients a stipend equivalent to the minimum wage during the training period. CETA funded vocational training programs offered training primarily in white collar jobs in the clerical, secretarial and nursing fields. While offenders were approximately 6% of the city's population targeted for training and other services, there were no vocational training programs specifically for ex-prisoners at the time of the study. Moreover, most CETA funded vocational training classes required that applicants pass an adult basic education test, at a specified level of literacy, before they were admitted.

Another major source for vocational training was the occupational and continuing education component of the city's community college district. This component was comprised of eight tuition-free community college centers, along with five satellite operations, which offered classes at numerous sites in the city. Each center specialized in particular kinds of skills training which ranged from adult basic education and GED preparation, to training in the clerical, health and technical trades fields. One of the community college centers sponsored the educational program for jail inmates described in Chapter IV. Another of the centers provided most of the classroom training offered through the federal manpower program described above.

A federal and state supported rehabilitation program for the

physically and mentally disabled was the third major source of job training for city residents. This program provided subsidized training and other employment related services to clients adjudged capable of holding a job after receiving needed services. The program offered no services specifically for ex-offenders, but had contacts with a number of community agencies, including alcoholic and drug treatment programs, through which clients were referred and accepted on the basis of their disabilities and potential for rehabilitation.

Employment Services

Many of the women, in addition to vocational and skills training, required instruction in how to look for, obtain, and keep a job. Employment services, which included job search techniques, career counseling, job referrals, placement and development were offered, to some extent, by most of the agencies providing vocational training.

For example, the federal manpower program provided job placement for CETA trainees, and funded various community organizations for affirmative action job placements in private industry. In addition, the manpower program offered direct job placement in public service employment. These jobs were intended to give the unskilled and economically disadvantaged work experience in limited tenure (18 months) white collar positions that would prepare them for permanent employment in both the public and private sectors. Most public service employment, however, was in administrative or clerical positions that required prior work experience or higher education. Although ex-offenders were targetted for job placement services under the manpower program, there was no unit which specifically assisted them with jobs. Moreover, most ex-offenders through either lack of sufficient education and experience, or their criminal records, were excluded from many public service jobs.

In addition to the job placement components of vocational training programs, there were other, government funded employment services, specializing in job referrals, job workshops, employment counseling and testing for the unemployed and the economically disadvantaged. The

state's employment services office, for example, offered daily job listings and referrals, along with a free job search workshop. The federal WIN program, similarly, assisted AFDC parents to conduct a concentrated job search, in a program which taught job seeking skills and coordinated job referrals. A secondary emphasis of the WIN program involved employability training through CETA and other vocational education programs.[3]

Several employment services were oriented specifically to ex-offenders. One of these, a component of the state employment services office, specialized in job placement, development and follow-up for ex-prisoners, while also offering limited direct funding and referrals to community programs and other emergency resources. The other ex-offender orgnizations provided services which ranged from search techniques, to counseling, referrals and follow-up. With one exception, relatively few women were served by the ex-offender employment programs. Those women who were served tended to be placed in menial, low status jobs or, if they had more education, in clerical and other low-paying positions traditionally assigned to women.

Counter to this, two federally funded apprenticeship programs offered employment services to women (either exclusively or prominently) assisting them to find non-traditional jobs in the trades and other blue collar fields. All apprenticeships required, at a minimum, a high school diploma or equivalent. Consequently, both programs offered GED and exam tutoring, along with job counseling and job referrals. When necessary, clients were also referred for skills training to community vocational classes. While neither currently recruited in the local jail, both programs were receptive to working with female jail releasees.

Education

Vocational training classes and all but the most menial jobs often required either a high school diploma (or equivalent), or the ability to pass functional literacy or entry level examinations. Many of the women released from jail were high school drop-outs, or lacked adequate

skills in reading, writing and math. Consequently, in order to meet basic qualifications for training and jobs, some required tutoring and remedial education. San Francisco offered a number of adult education classes for residents.

The learning center, located in a low income neighborhood, offered adult basic education, GED preparation, tutoring for some entry level job examinations and for the adult basic education test, which was a prerequisite for most CETA funded vocational training classes. GED preparation was also offered at most of the community college centers and in many community training programs. The GED testing center was located at the district headquarters of the community college centers. A passing score on the test was equivalent to a high school diploma and could be used to qualify for apprenticeship programs, jobs and in partial fulfillment of admissions requirements at institutions of higher learning. The city also offered school leavers at least four additional options for obtaining the high school diploma.[4] In addition, one of the community college centers, located in an economically disadvantaged neighborhood, offered a traditional high school program for adults, along with courses in adult basic education, GED preparation and training in the allied health fields. In the past, jail releasees had been referred to the school as a condition of parole. At the time of the study, although school staff expressed the need for more effective contact with jail programs in order to better meet the needs of released prisoners, no effective liaison had been established.

The only CETA funded basic education program specifically for ex-offenders focused on motivational literacy training for the youthful offender, aged 16-21. Aside from literacy training, the program provided tutoring for the high school proficiency, and the GED test, as well as job counseling and training in job readiness and job seeking skills. Students, at the conclusion were helped either to enroll in college or find a job.

Tuition free post high school education was available to community residents at San Francisco city college which offered a two year academic program leading to the Associate of Arts degree. The city college was the academic wing of the community college district which also included

the community college centers' vocational classes described above. The city college was oriented to students from economically and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds. It featured both remedial courses and open admission, accepting all students over 17 with or without a high school diploma. The excellent institutional supportive services were geared to recruiting and retaining students who had experienced academic difficulty while in high school. These services included a campus-wide tutoring program, a health service with licensed psychological counseling and group therapy, a career guidance center and a job placement office. Three of the college's supportive services, i.e., financial aid, extended opportunities, and women's re-entry, were of critical importance to those women jail releasees who hoped to continue their education after release.

Both the extended opportunities and women's re-entry programs actively recruited low income students and offered supportive services which included tutoring, academic, personal and career counseling, referrals to community programs, and classes in college survival and study skills. The former recruited in federal correctional institutions and halfway houses, and, until two years previously, had a special ex-offenders' project which recruited directly from local jails. While this project had been terminated, extended opportunities staff were still very interested in jail recruitment, particularly at the women's facility. The women's re-entry program assisted women with multiple barriers to return to school. It provided returning women students, typically older, single, welfare mothers, who had had academic difficulties in high school, with a drop-in center where they could get assertiveness training and organize into support groups. Re-entry staff were eager to work with women ex-prisoners and had attempted to add a women's ex-offender component to the program. However the proposed component, which would have included a recruiter at the women's jail to do pre-release counseling, financial aid preparation and college orientation prior to the inmate's release, was not funded.

The financial aids office provided students with loans, grants and work study. Funds were allocated on the basis of need, although after the first year, students were required to maintain a C (2.0) grade point average. Half of all students at the institution were on financial aid. Many found that attending the college not only increased their academic

skills, but also improved their financial status. For example, welfare mothers, who enrolled full-time, could virtually double their incomes, i.e., they could receive educational grants in addition to their welfare payments. An economically disadvantaged resident could receive twice as much from federal education grants and work-study as from the community's welfare-assistance program.[5]

San Francisco, in addition to the community college, was also the site of a state university. This four year institution, despite more rigorous admissions requirements, had, for over ten years, operated an ex-offenders' special admissions program which assisted ex-prisoners to enroll, and provided some supportive services. Formerly, the program had budget restrictions and was unable to do direct recruiting. Recently, due to increased funding, an expanded staff planned active recruitment in the local jails, as well as in prisons and halfway houses. Accordingly, inmates who wanted to continue their education would be able to complete all necessary paperwork for admissions and financial aid prior to release, so that current difficulties with late registration and late financial aid would be avoided. Another goal of the expanded recruitment effort was to attract more women to the program.

Drug Programs

Women inmates, in addition to the need for jobs, vocational training and education, also often required help with drug problems, on release. The community offered several drug treatment alternatives, ranging from one-year, drug free residential programs, to out-patient methadone maintenance clinics.

Out-patient programs were either drug-free or methadone maintenance. The latter generally charged a fee. All provided extended vocational, individual and group counseling along with referrals to community resources, in addition to medical treatment. The community's mental health program operated both types of out-patient facilities to residents of a low-income district of the city. Another low-income area was served by a federally funded free medical clinic which offered drug free de-toxification and

aftercare. A private agency, funded by state and federal money, provided methadone maintenance through three clinics in the city. One of these, for pregnant women, was located in the general hospital. It offered specialized classes and infant care, in addition to the other supportive services associated with methadone maintenance.

The drug-free residential program visited was a co-ed facility for ex-offenders which served as an alternative to jail. The year-long program involved counseling, completion of high school work for the diploma or equivalent, educational and vocational classes, and job readiness training. It also held a number of workshops specifically for women residents. At the conclusion of the program, clients were provided a supportive milieu for gradual transition back into the community.

Other Programs

Two additional programs provided services for specialized clientele in the community. One of these supervised children ruled in need of protection by the court due to neglect or abuse. Their parents had temporarily lost legal custody until they proved able to provide an adequate home. Occasionally women with dependent children, who were unable to make informal arrangements for their care, lost custody when they were incarcerated. Since there were no linkages between program social workers and parent inmates, women whose children were court dependents were often unaware of steps they could take to regain custody after release. Consequently, they often suffered considerable anxiety over their children while in jail. A final program visited was a support group for middle aged women who were alone. While most participants were from middle class backgrounds, the staff expressed an interest in including women ex-prisoners in their activities.

Summary of Program Characteristics

As noted in Appendix A, most community programs contacted originated relatively recently, the majority in the 70's. Funding was predominantly through government sources, although a few relied on private sector support or donations. Standards of eligibility depended on the type of program and the constituency it was designed to serve. Prospective clients learned of the various services through word of mouth or, if already in contact with other community programs, through agency referrals. Very few of the programs kept records of the number of ex-offenders served. Thus most of the figures cited in Appendix A represent rough estimates and, in a few cases, were not available. Program representatives noted, with a few exceptions, that they attempted to refer their clients to other agencies as needed, however their ability to do so was in fact often limited. Although women releasees tended to qualify for most of the programs on the basis of socio-economic or ex-prisoner status, and were exclusively eligible for several by virtue of sex, staff of a number of programs reported that, in fact, they served relatively few women. Moreover, there was no comprehensive community ex-offender program geared specifically to women jail releasees at the time of the study. (See Appendix A for other characteristics of the programs.)

In sum, while San Francisco had a wide range of community educational, manpower and other services for the economically disadvantaged and while there were several programs for ex-offenders, women ex-offenders tended to be overlooked. In part, this was related to the fact that San Francisco had a large number of people under community correctional control, many of whom required community services. In 1977, for example, 10,651 people, or 89% of all those convicted of offenses, were on county parole or probation, rather than in jail.[6] Thus, women released from San Bruno became part of a large population characterized by broadly similar service needs. Moreover, since males were the great majority of those under community corrections, as well as in jail, many community programs tended to be oriented to them and to be insensitive to the special needs of women. Women releasees also experienced a number of other gaps which affected program accessibility. The following chapter examines programmatic

and broader societal factors that negatively affected the re-entry efforts of women ex-prisoners in San Francisco.

Footnotes

1. Initially, a questionnaire was mailed to 216 community agencies, however, only 68 responded. Subsequently, site visits were paid those programs, identified on the basis of inmate interviews, as offering the types of services most needed by released women. All programs were visited between February and August, 1979. Consequently the discussion refers to that six-month period.

2. Most CETA funded classroom vocational training took place through the local community college center. Those who requested training in a marketable skill for which there was no existing subsidized classroom program, however, were referred to CETA's Individual Referral Program under which they could be placed in an individually tailored program at a private institution.

3. Policy with respect to the WIN program varied from one period to the next. Thus, one year earlier, the job search was mandatory for WIN registrants, while during the site visit, it was voluntary. For a discussion of policy changes in the WIN program, see Patricia Cayo Sexton, Women and Work (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 45-52.

4. Adults who did not graduate from high school could obtain a diploma in one of the following ways: 1) completing a specified number of credits with at least 20 taken at the community college centers; 2) passing the GED tests and then completing 20 selected credits at the community college centers; 3) passing the GED test and taking two specified academic courses at the community college and 4) entering a competency-based high school program at district headquarters, where credit was given for tests passed rather than classroom seat-time.

5. During the study period, a single, self-supporting resident, enrolled in the community college full-time, could receive approximately $418 a month (after school fees and supplies were deducted), from the

college's financial aid's office. This amount more than doubled the value of the monthly General Assistance payments.

6. State of California, Employment Development Department, Annual Planning Information: San Francisco City and County, 1979-80 (San Francisco: Employment Data Research, 1979), p. 78.

VI

PROBLEMS OF RE-ENTRY

Women released from San Bruno County jail experienced a number of problems on re-entry into the community. Difficulties stemmed from at least three sources: the characteristics of many of the women; the treatment they experienced while incarcerated; and barriers they encountered in the community on release.

As we have seen, many of the women were impoverished and under-educated with few job skills. A number were wholly or partially responsible for young children and had been unable to find legitimate employment which would adequately support themselves and their offspring. They often had serious health problems such as drug or alcohol addiction. Many were serving time for economic or victimless crimes, which were direct responses to the lack of life options created by barriers of race, sex and low socio-economic status. Consequently, they were often in desperate need of personal counseling, health care, and educational and vocational programs while in jail.

Despite the multiple problems these women experienced, jail programs fell drastically short of their needs. In part this was because services for all jail inmates, male and female, were inadequate.[1] However, due to gender role ideology and relative isolation, many of the women did not receive even the minimal assistance provided the male inmates. Thus they spent much of their sentence in idleness. For a number, the situation was exacerbated by anxieties regarding their children and family ties, or their worry over an apartment or personal possessions left untended.

One reason given for inadequate facilities in jails, is that misdemeanants serve such short sentences compared to felons that they are not in jail long enough to benefit from services. Thus, over two-thirds of the inmates in this study were sentenced to terms of three months or less. Short sentences, however, would not represent a barrier, provided there were adequate pre-release and referral services. A two or three month stay could be used to properly evaluate those women with serious problems, provide initial services and make referrals at release to community agencies capable of providing continued services.[2]

Alternatively, the lack of sufficient programs for women seems to perpetuate the necessity for maintaining the jail. Thus the inadequacy of pre-release and other jail services is a major element in a "revolving door syndrome" characterized by recidivism rates estimated at 80-85% nationwide for women jail releasees.[3] Similarly, an overwhelming majority of the women studied at San Bruno were chronic petty offenders with a history of prior jail sentences. Most expressed hopes for a good job, or for more education in the future. More critically, they spoke of problems of immediate survival they would face on release. Many however did not receive information and referrals to appropriate health and educational services in the community. Rather, on release they were given carfare, dropped off in the middle of town, and left to find a place to stay, food and money with few constructive ideas of where to go for help. Yet, as the previous chapter showed, there were a number of emergency and other services in the community which were available to people in need. These were important potential sources of assistance to meet both short and longer term needs.

The low priority assigned pre-release, educational and counseling programs at San Bruno reflects the differential emphasis given two contradictory notions about the appropriate functions of the jail, that is, whether it exists primarily to punish offenders, or to rehabilitate them and prepare them for reintegration.[4] Corrections personnel who feel that reintegration should be an important goal of the institution point out that crime is a symptom not only of individual problems, but also of community malfunctioning. Thus, people who are denied adequate education and jobs may feel they have no recourse but crime. This may be particularly the case for women who must contend with sex, as well as class and race inequities. According to this approach, a successful treatment program entails working not only with prisoners, but also with the community to ensure that resources are both available and sensitive to the needs of inmates on their release.[5] For, even if adequate educational and vocational training programs are provided in the jail and if inmates are fully informed of community resources, the rehabilitation program is a failure if releasees are unable to enter training programs or to obtain jobs due to discrimination.[6] Unfortunately, as this chapter shows, ex-prisoners

in San Francisco had to contend not only with personal problems and with a lack of sufficient services in the jail, but with institutional barriers in the wider community as well. While there were a number of resources in the community for distressed persons (see Chapter V), they were relatively ineffective in their impact on women ex-offenders for several reasons: 1) most incarcerated women were unaware of them, as this study and a recent nationwide survey showed,[7] 2) community programs were often characterized by inadequacies which interfered with their accessibility to women releasees, and 3) wider societal constraints undermined the long range effects of many of the services provided.

The site visits to community agencies elicited organizational and attitudinal characteristics of programs and staff which affected delivery of services to recently released women. This chapter analyzes, first, structural characteristics of community programs which interfered with their effectiveness, and, secondly, staff beliefs about negative attributes of women ex-offenders which they felt affected utilization of resources. This is followed by a discussion of women's status in the labor market and the impact of socio-economic discrimination on re-entry efforts by women ex-prisoners. Recommendations regarding needed changes are found throughout this discussion. The chapter concludes with specific suggestions made by service providers regarding the types of community programs needed by women releasees.

Factors Which Influenced Service Delivery:

Several program features negatively affected the quality of service and the effectiveness of delivery to clients. Predominant among these was funding. Most of the programs surveyed depended on government funds at federal, state and local levels. Those financed at the local level were often the least adequately funded. This was most apparent when comparing services available to jail inmates with those provided inmates of state and federal prisons. While jails processed the overwhelming majority of all offenders,[8] the average annual expenditure was far less for jail than for prison inmates.[9] In San Francisco, as elsewhere, jails had to compete with other programs for local government funds. Since prisoners have fewer advocates than other constituencies, money for jail

programs receives low priority. Programs dependent on federal and state funds which are allocated by local government are also affected. For example, a community prisoners' re-entry program, which assisted jail inmates with emergency funds immediately after release, had its financial base and services greatly reduced when most of the federal grant under which it operated was re-channeled to support other jail programs the city had cut from the budget. Moreover, due to uncertain funding, many community programs come into existence for relatively short periods and then disappear.[10]

Changes in governmental policy affected budgetary allocations at all levels. Moreover, policy shifts reflected in shrinking funding caused changes in programmatic goals and methods. These shifts at the federal and state level had an adverse affect on a number of community agencies. For example, when the local manpower program (CETA) was mandated, under new federal guidelines, to generate more jobs in the private, rather than the public sector, most of the public service agencies, whose programs were staffed principally by CETA trainees, faced a critical loss of personnel. Implementation of the mandate had already drastically cut back one of the pre-release programs for jail inmates. Reportedly, it would also curtail many of the manpower program's group public vocational training classes which would be de-emphasized in favor of more individual placements in classes at private institutions.

Tight funding also had an adverse affect on program operations through generating changes in standards of eligibility for certain services, primarily skills training and some emergency resources. These changes often operated to discriminate against clients who were most in need of help. Formerly, a community prisoner's re-entry program provided comprehensive re-entry services to ex-prisoners who had the fewest skills and who were most in need of help. Due to cut-backs in effect at the time of this study, the services were restricted only to those clients with the best chance to succeed.

The same shift in programmatic aims was found in other community programs which originated to meet the needs of the most impoverished segment of the population. Thus, a clerical training center, established to serve the economically disadvantaged, initially provided GED preparation and taught beginning typing. Later, however, these courses were dropped

and only applicants who already had basic typing skills and who could pass a written test demonstrating adequate math and English skills were eligible for training in the program. In addition, the prospective student had to pass an oral interview which demonstrated that she/he was employable and sufficiently motivated. Center staff recognized the need for training for the more disadvantaged but pointed out that their current funding through CETA was contingent on successful terminations, i.e., students who completed the training and were able to find jobs.

The local manpower program required that most CETA funded programs successfully train and place at least 70% of their clients. Many of these programs were thus forced to select applicants carefully and to provide brush-up and advanced training to the "cream of the crop." Those who needed basic skills training, and many women ex-prisoners who were in this category, were categorically screened out. It is significant that a National Evaluation Study has suggested that programs that "cream," serve people who might have succeeded anyway. This raises the question of which type of program serves the public interest best: those that accept clients who can most easily be helped, or those who serve clients with fewer skills, and who are likely to have fewer successes.[11]

Policy shifts and lack of money also contributed to the lack of adequate planning which characterized a number of the programs. Program planning deficiencies were most apparent in the lack of formalized ties between service agencies. For example, one woman found, after her release from jail, that her apartment had been burglarized of all its furnishings. She spent several nights sleeping on the floor at a relative's house since she had not been informed that a residential shelter for women ex-offenders, with only two of its six beds filled, could have accommodated her during that period. After some delay, she began to receive welfare-assistance and job referrals from the state's employment services office. Although sent to a number of job interviews, she was discouraged to find that the better-paying jobs required bonding. She mistakenly believed that she was ineligible for such employment on account of her criminal record.[12] A few months after her release, she was back in jail. Similarly, a woman, whose child had been made a court dependent when she was incarcerated, was under the impression that a scheduled court hearing signalled

permanent lack of custody, while in fact, the proceeding was to determine how soon the mother could hope to regain custody of her child. Another example of lack of ties between jail and community programs, was a job information agency which received a request from a nearby state for thirty-five female blue collar employees to work for six months at a relatively good wage. The agency had a week to fill the order and was interested in hiring women ex-offenders, but lacked the contacts with correctional programs through which interested women releasees could have been informed.

Although a number of service providers in community educational, vocational training, and job placement programs expressed an interest in establishing closer linkages with pre-release workers, the inadequately staffed jail counseling program was unable to coordinate efforts. The lack of coordination particularly interfered with the goals of prisoners who wanted to continue their education after release. Although they could receive greater financial support through educational grants than they could from the welfare-assistance program, which did not permit recipients to attend school, many were uninformed. Inmates interested in college also needed to be identified one or two months prior to their release dates, so that financial aid and admissions could be processed in time. However, they often were not assisted while incarcerated, to prepare the necessary forms, obtain job referrals or make other plans, before classes started. Consequently they often had to wait two months for financial aid. Many dropped out of school because of poor planning.

Moreover, while the community contained a number of resources which could have been utilized to help meet the service needs of women released from jail, most jail pre-release and post-release workers were largely uninformed about community services and thus unable to adequately refer their clients. The welfare-assistance worker in the jail, for example, did not know of the range of social services for which inmates might be eligible, particularly an emergency fund for mothers with dependent children which could have helped tide some of them over while their welfare checks were being processed. Furthermore, women releasees who were sent to community programs were often given improper referrals. Since jail counselors lacked ties with community agencies, they were unable to refer clients to an appropriate contact person in a particular program. A

community college center counselor told of a woman inmate who had been given a limited furlough in order to enroll in the center prior to her release. The woman, awaiting her turn with other applicants, became frantic when she thought her time would run out before she was seen. A telephone call, providing background information, would have enabled her to be seen quickly and saved her unnecessary anxiety.

Linkages between programs often seemed non-existent in the community, as well. Thus, poorly informed service providers sometimes gave clients incorrect information about program requirements. One jail releasee who was not a high school graduate, enrolled in the community college to work toward her Associate of Arts degree. After one year, she dropped out because she had been mistakenly informed by a college counselor, that she would need a high school diploma or equivalent to complete the two year course. Some misinformation was due to the precarious financial status of many programs which led to their abrupt termination. This caused service providers to complain of a constant need to up-date resource lists. While the city's social welfare department published an annual resource directory it was sometimes a year late, so that by the time it appeared some information was probably obsolete.

Another program characteristic which had a negative impact on women ex-offenders was the lengthy waiting period from the time of determination of eligibility to delivery of services. Women released from jail often needed immediate help at that critical period. The jail welfare-assistance worker screened and informed inmates about documentation needed for emergency aid, but could not himself determine eligibility. Since prisoners had to wait until after release to certify eligibility many were forced to wait several days for assistance although they were destitute. If initial welfare eligibility were determined prior to release, with expansion of this service to include all women, emergency rent and food vouchers could be ready for those who needed them immediately on release, pending final determination of their status. Other needed services, which sometimes required several weeks of waiting, appeared inaccessible. The federal rehabilitation program offered comprehensive funding for job training and other services to the employable handicapped and was a potentially excellent resource for a number of female alcoholics and drug addicts who

were motivated to change their life styles. However, the program required a three to four week waiting period, on the average, while medical examinations and other tests were administered to determine eligibility. Furthermore, a woman had to be "clean" to be accepted in most of the community substance abuse programs or halfway houses. While there were several alcohol detoxification centers for men in San Francisco, only a few had even limited space for women. Those often had a waiting period. Similarly, some CETA training programs required a 30-90 day delay, while community tuition-free training classes often had long waiting lists. One of the community college centers, for example, reported 500 on a list awaiting skills training. Some women jail releases found those delays insurmountable: pressing current needs, sometimes impelled them to behavior which resulted in their re-incarceration.

Characteristics of community programs such as inadequate funding, lack of coordination and lengthy waiting periods were often factors over which service providers had little control. Moreover, agencies under severe funding constraints, in order to survive, understandably selected clients who displayed mainstream patterns of success. However, services which in theory were aimed at, or could easily have made provisions for, the economically disadvantaged, or which did not operate under the same financial pressures, could also be exclusionary in practice. Accordingly, some service providers oriented their programs specifically to middle class or stable working class clients, thus affecting accessibility to women ex-prisoners. One of the most compelling needs of these women, for example, was job readiness training and job seeking skills. The state's employment services office offered a job workshop which provided a free series of classes where people were taught how to look for jobs, prepare resumes and take interviews. Moreover, a state ex-offenders' job placement program sometimes referred ex-prisoners to that workshop. However, the workshop instructor, due to broader client demand, oriented the classes to those seeking professional, semi-professional and clerical jobs, or to those interested in a career change. He felt, furthermore, that ex-offenders eligible principally for unskilled or service jobs "do not require job-seeking skills." Consequently, a woman jail releasee who attended one of the workshops reported that she felt out of place. She, along with other women ex-prisoners who were

attempting to enter the job market for the first time or who had little work experience, obviously required a different approach.

Other free career counseling services, such as the guidance center affiliated with the city's continuing education program, although not intentially exclusionary, reported that most of those who utilized their resources were either older residents interested in a career change, or younger students in the English as a Second Language programs, who sought job referrals.

The locally administered federal manpower program also tended to discriminate against city residents who were most economically disadvantaged. While CETA was intended to provide work experience and training for people with few skills, in fact many public service jobs offered by the CETA program were white collar positions requiring advanced education and prior experience. Consequently, they were usually filled by applicants from typically middle class backgrounds. Recently, new federal guidelines underlined the need for more jobs requiring less education and providing basic training to enable unskilled workers to upgrade their abilities. However, most CETA classroom vocational training was in white collar clerical and nursing fields. Since clerical and secretarial jobs were usually low paying, there was also a need for subsidized non-traditional training which would prepare the poor for higher paying, higher status jobs. Moreover, most classroom training programs required a high school diploma or equivalent. Several others required a 10th grade or an 8th grade score on the Test for Adult Basic Education (TABE). The TABE, which measures literacy and scholastic achievement, lasts three and a half hours and is reportedly difficult to pass. Many of the economically disadvantaged who took it scored around the 8th grade level or lower. Thus, for some San Francisco residents, classroom occupational training under CETA required prior literacy training. Even though the need for pre-occupational literacy and for remedial skills training was recognized, there was no CETA subsidized motivational literacy program for adults in the community.[13] Those who did not pass the TABE at the required level were referred, without funding, to the local learning center for remedial literacy training.

An additional characteristic of CETA funded training programs, which was discriminatory to some women, centered around chilcare. While CETA

provided funds for childcare for a specified period, the time covered fell short of the period required for most training programs. A woman who was not on welfare and thereby eleigible for funds through other programs, might be unable to afford childcare and thus unable to complete training.

Programs which were oriented to the economically disadvantaged or to ex-offenders sometimes displayed particular bias against women ex-prisoners. This intolerance seemed to reflect sex discrimination compounded by the stigmatized status assigned women who violate the law. Thus the gender role ideology discussed in Chapter 1, which limited services to women in jail appeared to affect accessibility of resources to them on their release, as well. Community service providers seemed to feel that men who committed crimes, were victims of circumstances and thereby deserved another chance, while women who did so were pathological or immoral, and not worthy of the same consideration. Thus women jail releasees who went to a public job placement service reported that they were treated indifferently: they were not informed of transportation funds and other resources to which they were entitled and they were repeatedly told to come back for job referrals. Male ex-offenders seemed to be taken more seriously and treated with more respect.

Service providers not only mirrored prevailing stereotypes about women, particularly women ex-prisoners, but those who worked primarily with the female poor often also displayed a subtle class bias. The administrator of a residential shelter for women reported that poor women who lacked a middle class presentation of self were sometimes uninformed about services available or denied resources to which they were entitled at the local social welfare office. Similarly, while the women's movement has generated increasing responsiveness to women's needs, as is reflected in a proliferation of special programs for women within the community, many of these services have been tailored to the interests of middle class, rather than economically disadvantaged women.

Problems of discriminatory treatment or of unintentional bias which characterizes some community agencies suggests that women ex-prisoners need advocacy as well as counseling and referrals. Since community responsiveness significantly determines whether existing resources are utilized it is essential that counselors who work with the poor and women

ex-prisoners develop skills as change agents who can actively manipulate community agencies to gain the services to which their clients are entitled.[14] Two of the service programs visited, a temporary residence, counseling and referral service for needy women, and a manpower vocational placement program, offered active advocacy as part of their services. In one program, a staff member routinely accompanied each client on referrals to community agencies in order to speak on the client's behalf if necessary. In the other, economically and educationally disadvantaged clients were frequently placed in private training programs for which, due to skillful advocacy, formal requirements had been waived.

In order to ensure that community programs designed for women, or for ex-offenders, are more accessible to women ex-offenders it is also important to have women ex-prisoners in positions of leadership and planning. Staff of several community programs, even though they were women interested in helping other women, often lacked the background and awareness to successfully develop programs for women releasees. The local university's ex-offenders' special admissions program, for example, linked its goal of recruiting more women to the hiring of a female ex-prisoner as assistant director of the program.

Problems of insensitivity and possible exclusion of ex-prisoners from some community programs generated differing views about "mainstreaming." Some service providers felt that the possibility of bias required the establishment of separate ex-offender programs. Thus, the staff of two ex-offender job placement services felt they were able to offer more effective services to their clients because they could specialize and had built up longstanding ties with various employers who were willing to hire ex-offenders. Similarly, staff of the local university's ex-offenders' program felt that special efforts needed to be made both to recruit ex-prisoners and to provide a separate support group for them when they entered the institution. However, other service providers felt that special ex-offender programs could impede the process of re-entry. Thus, an ex-offender project at the community college was terminated after it was concluded that a separate program held potential for segregation and stigmatization. An administrator of the federal manpower program, similarly, stated that regular CETA funded programs showed a higher success

rate for ex-offender clients than those programs which were specifically designated for ex-offenders. One work program, for example, failed to maintain an acceptable level of job placements when the staff shifted its goals to an almost exclusive concern with social change and prisoner advocacy. While an evaluation of the relative merits of specialized versus mainstreamed services is outside the scope of the study, the broad range of service needs which characterizes ex-prisoners suggests there is ample room for both types of programs. Ex-prisoners should be able to choose the resources best suited to their particular needs.

The class bias in community vocational training and job placement services also characterized educational programs in the city. Subsidized academic programs were designed for those with relatively high ability levels rather than those who were educationally disadvantaged and who lacked basic skills. Until recently, only those attending college, or those with high school diplomas or the equivalent who were enrolled in vocational training programs at the community college centers were eligible for federal educational grants. Over the previous year, the rules had been changed to make BEOG and other student grants available to a number of students who previously did not qualify. Thus, students eligible for certified community college centers' programs, who scored between the 5th and 8th grade levels on the literacy placement test, could theoretically receive federal grants while taking adult basic education along with vocational training. However, according to staff of one of the jail inmate counseling programs, some women ex-prisoners were not only high school drop-outs, but were functional illiterates as well, and were unable to read and adequately fill out relatively simple applications.[15] Thus, existing subsidized educational programs for high school grads at the college level, or for the minimally functionally literate in certified vocational training programs, did not meet the needs of ex-offender women who required basic literacy training. Those programs specifically designed to help students acquire basic reading and math skills and to become functionally literate, such as the local learning center, did not provide federal subsidies in the form of grants and loans. The head of the learning center noted that the drop-out rate for students in the program was very high due to their need to find work. Since jobs for the minimally educated, when available, were

extremely marginal, functional illiterates were in a double bind. They were unable to get decent jobs without adequate education, and unable to devote the necessary time and energy to concentrated literacy training due to time consuming and low paying jobs. Thus it was very difficult for students at this educational level, which conceivably included a number of women ex-prisoners, to acquire the basic education they needed without some form of financial assistance.

Beliefs about Significant Characteristics of Ex-Offender Women:

Barriers to effective service delivery stemmed not only from programmatic inadequacies but, according to service providers, from characteristics of the women themselves. For example, staff were asked if they perceived differences in serving men and women ex-prisoners in their programs. This question invariably elicited impressions about the women, particularly about their personal attributes and the nature of their lives. Many of the service providers felt women were more difficult to serve than men. They cited two reasons for this: the women's special needs in relation to their children and their over-dependence on men.

Many of the programs available to women in San Francisco did not meet the needs of mothers with small children. Inadequate childcare funds associated with CETA training programs were noted. Staff of residential drug programs, in particular, mentioned a woman addict's concern about her children as one of the factors interfering with successful completion of a program. Thus a woman might feel pressure not to make a commitment to a residential program for she and others would perceive this as abandoning her children. Alternatively, a woman already in residential treatment might leave to look after her children when previously arranged caretaking did not work out. Due to the women's tendency to drop out on account of their children, a one-year residential drug treatment program for ex-offenders recently received funding for a pilot program for single parents. Under existing rules, children were not allowed to live at the residence but visited on weekends. With the new parent's program, children would visit during an initial phase, after which they would be permitted to live with the parent in a family unit during succeeding phases of the parent's rehabilitation.

Women ex-prisoners, it was stated repeatedly, were also insecure, had poor self-esteem and were overly dependent on men. Women often failed in rehabilitation and re-entry programs because the men with whom they associated did not want them to become independent. An administrator of a jail pre-release program noted that after she assisted many female jail inmates develop re-entry plans, involving job training and placement, a number told her their boyfriends or husbands objected and the plans were dropped. A supervisor at the county parole office similarly remarked that some women got paroles revoked specifically because of their involvement with men. She cited the recent case of a client whose boyfriend was having parole problems and who forbade her from reporting to her own parole officer.

Several program administrators noted that many incarcerated women were not socialized to be self-sufficient and independent, but rather to look for a man to take care of them. The women felt their only option was to play the traditional role assigned to females. Moreover, many became hooked on alcohol or drugs through their involvement with men. Staff at a community prisoner's re-entry program estimated that over half of the women they saw had drug problems, along with "old men" who insisted they return to the streets on their release. Since the women lacked confidence in their own abilities and felt they needed a man, they were pulled into a continuing cycle of dependency, drugs and prostitution.

Several providers also believed that most women ex-prisoners led tragic, disorganized lives: when they were released from jail they simply returned to chaos. Many of the women were seen as having pervasive emotional problems due to their involvement with men and with drugs, to their poor health and their worry about their children. Due to these problems which fed their dependency and low self esteem, they easily reverted back to old lifestyles. The likelihood of reversion was amplified by the fact that many of the women lacked job skills and were able to make more money on the street than in the legitimate but low paying jobs available to them.

Institutional Factors:

This chapter, so far, has focused on characteristics of community programs and attributes of women ex-prisoners which inhibited successful re-entry. However, effective reintegration requires not only expanded

and better coordinated community programs and more motivated women, but significant institutional changes in the wider society as well. Successful reintegration depends primarily on changes in the labor market and a consequent elevation in the socio-economic status of women in the community.

While most men in contemporary society participate in the primary labor market where they earn high wages, and enjoy job security and advancement, most women and minorities are relegated to the secondary sector characterized by poor wages, bad working conditions and dead-end jobs.[16] Moreover, women's concentration in low paying, low status work stems from discrimination, not from lack of training. Thus simply increasing educational and job opportunities for women would do little to change their marginal socio-economic position. This is shown in the comparative earnings of men and women with the same years of schooling. Not only do women earn considerably less than men of the same educational level, but the earnings gap between the sexes tends to widen the more the education. The median earnings of full-time women workers with four years of college in 1977 was almost $8,000 less than comparably educated men (women's median income at this level was 59.2% of the income of men's). Male workers with eight years of education earned more than women workers who completed four years of college ($12,038 to $11,609).[17] A consequence of this disparity is that women require mroe schooling than men to acquire a decent income.[18]

Women, as a consequence of their participation in the secondary labor market, constitute a large proportion of the impoverished in San Francisco and in the state. In California, over half of all women workers are concentrated in low wage jobs in the clerical and service fields.[19] Moreover, while 52.4% of all women in California work, females 14 and over earn 46% of the mean income of males.[20] Consequently, while 10% of all persons live in poverty in California, 33% of these are from female headed households.[21] The job discrimination which almost all women experience hits hardest women with the least education and skills. Black women's labor force status is worse than that of white women, as it is nationally (see Chapter I). Black and other non-white women are most often in the lowest status jobs in California, with 73.5% in clerical, operatives and service/private household worker jobs compared to 63.8% of white women.[22]

For San Francisco, the figures are comparable. There, 14% of the total population is impoverished, and of the family heads in that situation, 43% are female.[23] Far more black than white women in the city, as they are nationally, are below the poverty level. The unemployment rate for black women is almost double that of white women (9.1% compared to 4.9%).[24] Black women, who are 13.7% of the total adult female population in San Francisco, head 48.5% of the 6,770 female headed families living in poverty, compared to white women who are nearly 62% of the total adult female population and who head 40% of the impoverished families headed by women.[25] If, as noted above, crime is a symptom of community malfunctioning, then the disproportionate numbers of black women in jail in San Francisco reflects, in part, their greater poverty. Moreover, if community apathy continues, the incarceration rates for black women may increase owing to the growing proportions who will be living in poverty in the future. Projected figures indicate that 34.4% of all black women 14 years and older will be below the poverty level in the city in 1980, compared to 14.3% of all white women.[26]

The broader socio-economic status of women in San Francisco suggests that expanded education and manpower training programs and more supportive and better coordinated community services are not enough to ensure economic and social equity for women in general and for women ex-prisoners in particular. A study of low wage workers in Detroit showed there was little difference in wage earning capacity of those who were on welfare and received training and those who did not receive welfare or training prior to acquiring a job.[27] Similar results were found nationwide. For example, evaluation of the federal Work Incentive Program (WIN) revealed that women compared to men in the program received fewer job placements and their jobs were lower paying. Furthermore, most WIN placements were in the secondary labor market and many of the women received wages that were under the poverty line.[28]

The data suggest that correctional personnel and community service providers who work with women offenders should consider not only the human resource needs of the women but also the institutional factors which prevent full and equal access to training, jobs, housing and other amenities. To focus only on the educational and training handicaps of

the women and to ignore sex and race oppression is at best partial and ineffective. Concerted effort needs to be directed to overcoming macro-structural constraints so that women are able to enter the primary labor market, and so that jobs in the secondary market are upgraded and better paid. Only through such effort can women ex-prisoners in San Francisco and elsewhere escape the poverty and disillusion which have been pervasive factors in their lives.

Service Providers' Recommendations

Institutional and ideological constraints on women in this society must be removed before women ex-prisoners fully benefit from service programs and before their prospects for successful re-entry in the community are significantly improved. Keeping these factors in mind, it is instructive to consider service providers' suggestions regarding the program needs of incarcerated and recently released women. Several of their recommendations involved a better utilization of existing resources or a re-establishing of priorities within the framework of current planning.

During site visits, administrators and staff were asked the following questions:

What are the major problems facing women released from San Bruno County jail?

What needs to be done to assist them?

Service providers identified five areas of greatest need:

--more and better planned in-jail programs

--assertiveness training both in jail and in the community

--a wide range of support systems for women who express a desire to change their lifestyles

--expanded job opportunities

--more effective community based programs

Several staff noted that a woman will continue to be engaged in criminal activity, or a destructive lifestyle, no matter how many community services and opportunities are available, until she herself decides to change. One service provider felt that the motivation to change one's lifestyle depended on the person's stage in life, i.e., whether she had grown tired of failure and of being in jail. Another expressed this in

terms of age: most incarcerated women who were past 25 years of age not only needed but wanted help. While some of the women in San Bruno County jail found their lifestyles satisfying despite the inconvenience of a jail sentence, many wanted to change and were interested in information about jobs and other community resources. It was when women made the decision to change that the accessibility of sufficient resources and support was critical. Quite simply, if there were no resources available in the form of housing, jobs, education and supportive services, or if the women were not given the necessary information and contacts, they could not make changes even if they wanted to. As one service provider put it, "A woman has to survive...(she) needs opportunities (she) can take advantage of immediately."

All service providers agreed that the women needed more adequate in-jail services. A dominant complaint was that women in jail, who had the greatest need for basic education and for training in job seeking skills, sat idle and ignored until their sentence was served. Program staff pointed out that incarceration should be a period when these women were provided remedial education, job seeking techniques and basic vocational training. Once started in a program, the women could continue in a different phase of the same program after their release. Thus, incarcerated women needed to be informed about community agencies and programs which could provide assistance and continue training already started. It was not enough to simply offer releasees a list of community programs. Rather, a transitional team, including jail pre-release and community service counselors, should have provided coordination of services and follow-up to all women who requested it.

Staff who emphasized the dependency and low self esteem of women ex-prisoners felt that in-jail and community programs should directly address such feelings of inadequacy. Female service providers, in particular, reiterated the need for assertiveness training while the women were in jail. One stated that programs oriented to teaching the women how to deal with men and how to become more self-sufficient should receive higher priority than some of the planned new programs for inmate women, such as those teaching parenting skills. Supportive counseling programs both inside the jail and outside were also needed to help the women regain self-confidence.

Several program staff noted the need for released women to sever old ties and to move from old neighborhoods. This was necessary not only to extricate them from destructive relationships but also to prevent police harassment and the real likelihood of re-arrest. The need to change lifestyles requires that affordable housing in safe neighborhoods be available. Clearly the current practice by the welfare department of providing emergency rent vouchers for cheap hotels in high crime neighborhoods is maladaptive. Thus the community needs to assist women who request it to obtain new places to live in constructive neighborhoods which would support rather than undermine their attempts to change their lifestyles.

Jobs and job training were cited often as an immediate need. Job training which is geared to women with low literacy and few skills needs to be provided in areas where jobs are available. Every effort needs to be made to insure that new jobs for women offer decent wages and that women are encouraged to seek employment in domains aside from those traditionally assigned to low income women: as waitress or clerk-typist. One service provider pointed out that many incarcerated women had been so abused as children and teenagers that their ideal goal as adults was to feel like a lady and to obtain a glamorous but unrealistic job, such as an airline stewardess or a model. Consequently nontraditional occupations, regardless of the high pay, were not initially appealing to them. Nevertheless, existing apprenticeships and training programs in non-traditional fields need to be more fully exploited and the women need to have their consciousness raised about the desirability and long-term benefits of such jobs.

Finally a number of program staff spoke of the enormous need for more community programs oriented to women's needs. While San Francisco, at the time of the study, had a number of community based programs for ex-prisoners, all of which included women, our community survey revealed there were virtually none specifically designed for women, with the exception of a temporary shelter, which closed shortly after the site visit, and a halfway house for federal offenders, which planned to include women jail releasees in the immediate future. Similarly, while there were a number of programs for women in the community, the survey identified only one, a temporary residence, counseling and referral service, which made a committed effort

to recruit needy women from jail as well as from the community. Some service providers in ex-offender programs, such as the coed residential drug facility felt that separate programs for women would be counter-productive since the women desperately needed to learn to deal with reality and reality includes men. However, others took the opposite position. Since the percentages of women seen in community ex-offender programs were never over 30% and in almost all cases were much lower, and since women were almost uniformly less successful than men in these programs, there seems an obvious need for ex-offender programs oriented to women's issues, and in particular to the specific problems that women jail releasees face on their return to the community. Such ex-offender programs need to be planned and operated by a staff which includes women ex-prisoners in positions of authority. These and other community programs should provide the necessary support systems for women releasees, which includes follow-through services. Similarly, the director of an ex-offender job placement program stated there was a great need for a volunteer organization involving women from the community who would offer one-to-one assistance and support to women releasees.[29] Thus, service providers believed the problems of women ex-prisoners required both the creation of special services in the community and in the jail, and greater sensitivity in existing programs.

Footnotes

1. A 1965 national survey of 215 local correctional institutions found that two-thirds lacked any type of rehabilitative programs for misdemeanants. See President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 75.

2. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice p. 77. Since few jails have been able to provide needed services, and since community resources are far more varied and comprehensive than the best of jail programs, a logical alternative is to divert those convicted of victimless crimes from the criminal justice system altogether. In this way, they could be sent to appropriate welfare, medical or counseling services immediately, as needed. This would provide a more humane solution for those with serious problems whose needs are continually ignored.

3. American Bar Association, Women in Detention and Statewide Jail Standards. (Statewide Jail Standards and Inspection Systems Project, Clearinghouse Bulletin #7, Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services, 1974); Kathryn W. Burkhart, Women in Prison (New York: Doubleday, 1973), pp. 392, 399.

4. Hans W. Mattick, "The Contemporary Jails of the United States: An Unknown and Neglected Area of Justice," in Handbook of Criminology, ed. Daniel Glaser (Chicago: Rand McNally), pp. 810-811. For a theoretical distinction between programs aimed at rehabilitation and reintegration see John Conrad, "Reintegration: Practice in Search of a Theory," in U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Reintegration of the Offender into the Community (National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1973), pp. 10-27.

5. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 168-169; Vincent O'Leary, "Current Issues in Community-based Corrections," in Community-Based Corrections: Theory, Practice and Research, ed. Povl G. Boesen and Stanley E. Grupp (Santa Cruz, California: Davis Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 104-105.

6. David T. Stanley, Prisoners Among Us: The Problem of Parole (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1976), p. 137; Elliot Studt, "Reintegration from the Parolee's Perspective," in U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, p. 47.

7. U.S. General Accounting Office, Female Offenders: Who Are They and What Are the Problems Confronting Them? (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1979), p. 13.

8. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Corrections, p. 72.

9. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, p. 161.

10. Thus a number of agencies on mailing lists obtained from community sources were no longer operating when the community questionnaire was mailed out. Similarly, upon writing 25 programs listed nationally in a recent resource guide to women offender programs, five letters were returned stamped "Moved--no forwarding address."

11. Mary A. Toborg, L.J. Center, R.H. Milman and D.W. Davis, The Transition from Prison to Employment: An Assessment of Community-Based Assistance Programs (National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, 1978), p. 10.

12. Federal bonding for ex-prisoners may be obtained through the California Employment Development Department in San Francisco.

13. Although the local CETA prime sponsor was interested in funding new literacy training programs for adults, a 25% federal budget cut in 1979 constrained staff to re-fund existing successful programs rather than to take a chance on such needed new programs.

14. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, pp. 168-169; O'Leary, p. 105. See also Conrad.

15. Tentative confirmation of the low literacy level of some of the inmates in this study was provided by results of a brief word recognition test, the San Diego Quick Achievement Test (SQUAT) given 30 of the women. One third scored at the 6th grade level or below. Almost half scored at the 7th grade level or below. Since the SQUAT was far less sophisticated and comprehensive than the three and half hour TABE, this suggested that a substantial percentage of women ex-prisoners might need literacy training. In order to pursue this, a later more comprehensive literacy test, the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT) was administered the inmates. This test yielded considerably higher reading scores. Out of 18 women who completed the test, only two scored below the 8th grade level. Unfortunately, only one of the 18 women had taken the earlier SQUAT, where she scored at roughly the same level as on the WRAT. Thus, it is difficult to know whether the latter group was more educated or whether the SQUAT was a far less valid index of literacy than the WRAT.

16. Patricia Cayo Sexton, Women and Work (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), p. 1.

17. U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, The Earnings Gap Between Women and Men (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), table 8, p. 15.

18. Ibid., table 9, p. 16.

19. State of California, Employment Development Department, Women at Work In California (Sacramento: Division of Employment Data and Research, 1978), p. 6. Figures are for 1977.

20. Ibid., pp. 3 and 47. These figures are for 1978 and 1975, respectively.

21. State of California, Employment Development Department, Women At Work In California, p. 45. Figures are for 1977.

22. Ibid., p. 7. Figures are for 1977.

23. Data extrapolated from projected figures for 1979 in State of California, Employment Development Department, Annual Planning Information: San Francisco City and County, 1978-79 (San Francisco: Employment Data and Research, 1978), pp. 3 and 36.

24. State of California, Employment Development Department, San Francisco: Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs (Employment Data and Research, 1978), table 5A, p. 7. These Figures are based on the 1970 census.

25. Data extrapolated from projected figures for 1979 in State of California, Employment Development Department, Annual Planning Information: San Francisco City and County, 1978-79, pp. 3 and 36.

26. Figures extrapolated from State of California, Employment Development Department, Annual Planning Information: San Francisco City and County, 1979-80 (San Francisco: Employment Data and Research, 1979), pp. 66 and 69. Comparable figures for black and white men are 25.6% and 11.3% respectively.

27. Louis A. Ferman, "Welfare Careers, Low Wage Workers and Sexism, in New Research on Women ed. Dorothy G. McGuigan (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 143-151.

28. Sexton, pp. 46-48.

29. For an example of such a program in California, see California Commission on the Status of Women, A Report on Women in Transition: Volunteer Counselors for Women in a County Jail (Sacramento: California Commission on the Status of Women, n.d.)

Appendix A -- Characteristics of Community Programs, 1979

Programs	Year Started	Funding	Eligibility	Recruitment	Numbers Served & Women*	Services
Pre-release and Transitional Services:						
Adult Probation - Community Resource Management Team	1977	City	Ex-offenders	Court sentence	400/month 20-30% women	Supervision and coordinated referrals to community services as needed with follow-up
Northern California Service League	1948	Private CETA	Inmates & Ex-offenders	Public defender & agency referrals, Inmate outreach	300-400/month 10% women	Pre-release counseling, post release temporary Identification paper, information & referrals to community housing & social services
Prisoner Services	1972	City/ County CETA	Inmates	Inmate outreach	Information not available	Re-entry counseling, information and referrals to community services as needed
Sheriff's County Parole	1973	City/ County LEAA grant	Ex-offenders	Condition of parole	60/month 10-15% women	Counseling, job development, job placement, and referrals to community services as needed
Immediate Survival Resources						
General Assistance Jail Program	1978	County	Destitute inmate, county resident, registered to work	Jail pre-release programs' referrals	75/month "Few" women	Screening and referral to Department of Social Services
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)--Intake Home Visit Study	1979	Federal State	Economically deprived children & families	Agency referrals	450 cases/ month; 80% women headed households	Home visits to determine eligibility for AFDC and other services

*Most figures are estimates.

Appendix A -- Characteristics of Community Programs, 1979

Programs	Year Started	Funding	Eligibility	Recruitment	Numbers Served % Women	Services
Immediate Survival Resources (Cont'd)						
Sheriff's Community Re-entry Center	1975	Federal LEAA grant	Ex-offender within 30 days of release	Jail pre-release programs' referrals	175/year 25% women	Survival funds to $300 per person
Friends Outside	1969	City State	Offenders, Ex-offenders & their families	Court referrals Inmate outreach	4,500/year 70% women	Emergency food & clothes Women's temporary residence Child care center - Counseling
Gracenter	1977	Private	Prostitutes, Ex-offenders & Indigent women	Jail pre-release programs' referrals	9/month 100% women	Temporary housing, counseling, Social welfare advocacy, Referrals to communtiy services as needed
Reality Women's House	1977	Federal	Female felons eligible for conditional release; plans to include jail releasees	Inmate outreach Court referrals Pre-release referrals	15/month 100% women	Halfway house Re-entry counseling Referrals to community services as needed
Vocational Training:						
Mayor's Office of Employment and Training--Job Services Office Individual Referrals Program	1974	CETA	Unemployed resident with poverty level income	Agency referrals	80/year 85% women	Placement in private vocational training programs
San Francisco Community College District--Skills Center	1962	City/ State Federal	Adult city residents; ability to pass literacy test	Community outreach, Referrals	1,000/daily 70% women	Short term vocational training, job placement, counseling, referrals to community services as needed

Appendix A -- Characteristics of Community Programs, 1979

Programs	Year Started	Funding	Eligibility	Recruitment	Numbers Served & Women	Services
Vocational Training (cont'd)						
San Francisco Community College District--John O'Connell Auto-Welding Center	1970	City/ State	Adult city residents	Word of mouth Agency referrals	800/semester 10% women	Vocational training in trades, job counseling, development, and referrals
San Francisco Community College District--John Adams Center	1970	City/ State	Adult city residents	Word of mouth Agency referrals	3,000/daily 60% women	Vocational training in the health field, career counseling
California Department of Rehabilitation	1920's	Federal State	Employable mentally & physically disabled	S.S.I. and other referrals	3,000/year 40% women	Placement in vocational training programs, referrals & funds, for work-related services as needed, vocational counseling
Greater San Francisco Opportunities Industrialization Center	1971	CETA	Unemployed residents with poverty-level income; high school diploma or equivalent; ability to pass screening test & interview	Referrals Word of mouth	67/year 80% women	Clerical training, counseling, and job referrals
Quest Center	1979	CETA	Unemployed women residents with poverty level income; motivated to complete the program	Referrals	120/year 100% women	Pre-employment & employment assistance; placement in short-term vocational training; counseling; advocacy and referrals to supportive services as needed
Salvation Army Occupational Training Schools	1973	Calif. Dept. Rehabilitation	See California Department of Rehabilitation above	California Department of Rehabilitation referrals	35/year 20% women	Training in printing, electronics, work rehabilitation, job seeking skills

Appendix A -- Characteristics of Community Programs, 1979

Programs	Year Started	Funding	Eligibility	Recruitment	Numbers Served & Women	Services
Employment Services:						
Mayor's Office of Employment & Training--Public Service Employment	1974	CETA	Unemployed resident with poverty level income	Word of mouth Referrals	6,000/year 38% women	Job referrals & direct job placement
Mayor's Office of Employment & Training--Public Service Employment--Veterans' Affairs Unit	1974	CETA	Same as above Veterans, Veteran ex-offenders	Community outreach, Word of Mouth, Referrals	1,000/year 1.5% women	Job counseling & placement; drug counseling
California Employment Development Department--Ex-offenders' Unit	1971	State	Ex-offenders Eligible inmates	Inmate outreach Referrals Word of mouth	200/month Women rare	Job development & referrals; Referrals to other services as needed
California Employment Development Department--Job Workshops	1965	State	Residents	Walk-ins	1895/year 52% women	Job seeking skills, job search library
Work Inventive Program	1968	Federal	AFDC recipient	Dept. of Social Services referrals	900/year 75% women	Assist in job search, job seeking skills, some placement in short-term vocational programs, vocational counseling
Friends Outside Employment Program	1969	CETA	Ex-offenders	Jail pre-release programs' referrals	100/month 4% women	Job counseling, job placements & referrals
National Alliance of Business--Ex-Offender's Program	1974-75	Private	Ex-offenders	Inmate outreach Referrals Word of mouth	150/month 35% women	Job seeking skills, job counseling, referrals & follow-up; referrals to other services as needed
Apprenticeship Opportunities Foundation	1968	Federal	Unemployed resident with poverty level income	Community outreach Referrals	1,150/year 25%-33% women	Job seeking skills, job counseling, tutoring, job development. Referrals to apprenticeships, blue collar jobs & other services as needed.

Appendix A -- Characteristics of Community Programs, 1979

Programs	Year Started	Funding	Eligibility	Recruitment	Numbers Served & Women	Services
Employment Services (cont'd)						
Women in Apprenticeships	1974	Federal	Women in Bay Area	Community outreach; Word of mouth	1,750/year 100% women	Job seeking skills, job counseling, tutoring, job development. Referrals to apprenticeships, blue collar jobs & other services as needed.
Women's Switchboard	1975	Private (Volunteers)	All women	Word of mouth Some advertising	1,000/month 100% women	Phone referrals to women's services; drop-in referrals to jobs, housing, events for women
Education (Academic):						
San Francisco Community College District--Career Guidance Center	1970	City/ State	All residents	Some advertising	2,099/year 58% women	Counseling, testing. Referrals to jobs & education.
Adult Learning Center	1969	City/ State/ CETA/ Volunteers	Adults 18 and over	Referrals Word of mouth	1,500/year 60% women	Basic education, GED preparation, tutoring for entry level tests, informal counseling
General Educational Development Testing Center	1963	City/ State	Adults		440 completed the test last year 39% women	GED test scores; high school equivalency certificate
Adult Competency Education	1978	State	Adults	Some advertising	120/semester 50% women	Accelerated high school program for adults, GED preparation, job seeking skills
San Francisco Community College District--John Adams Center	1970	City/ State	Adults	Word of mouth Referrals	3,000/daily 60% women	Traditional high school program, GED preparation, adult basic education, English as a Second Language program

Appendix A -- Characteristics of Community Programs, 1979

Programs	Year Started	Funding	Eligibility	Recruitment	Numbers Served % Women	Services
Education (cont'd)						
Youth for Service Basic Skills and Career Exploration Program	1978	CETA	Ex-offenders, school drop-outs aged 16-21	Referrals from Youth Guidance Center & other agencies	50/year 20% women	Preparation for the GED or the high school proficiency test; job readiness & job seeking skills; information on apprenticeship & other job opportunities.
City College of San Francisco Financial Aides Office	1958	Federal City/ State	U.S. citizens enrolled in 6 units or more, who meet financial criteria	Referrals Advertising	4,000/year 52% women	Assist students & process applications for student grant, loans & work-study
City College of San Francisco Extended Opportunities Programs & Services	1969	State	Low income students	Active community outreach Advertising	1,200/semester 40% women	Tutoring, counseling, college orientation courses, book grants, referrals to other services as needed
City College of San Francisco Women's Re-Entry to Education Program	1974	City/ State	Older women students newly returning to school	Active community outreach, particularly among low income, minority women; advertising	3,000/year 100% women	Pre-admission, career & financial counseling, support groups, college orientation courses, referrals to community services as needed, assertiveness training
San Francisco State University Rebound Program	1969	SFSU Associated Students	Ex-offenders who meet minimum entrance requirements	Inmate outreach Advertising	266/year 7% women	Admissions program, support group, college orientation course, some counseling & referrals to other services as needed
Drug Programs:						
Westside Drug Treatment Program	late 1960s	Federal State	Federal requirements for methadone maintenance only. See BAART	Referrals Word of mouth	600/year 50% women	Outpatient drug-free detoxification, outpatient methadone maintenance, counseling, referrals to services as needed.

Appendix A -- Characteristics of Community Programs, 1979

Programs	Year Started	Funding	Eligibility	Recruitment	Numbers Served & Women	Services
Drug Programs (cont'd)						
Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic	1970	Federal/ Private	No requirements	Word of mouth	385/month 35% women	Outpatient drug-free detoxification, counseling, legal referrals
Bay Area Addiction, Research & Treatment (BAART)	1977	Federal/ State	Documentation of 2 years addiction & 2 unsuccessful attempts to de-tox	Referrals Word of mouth	210/year 52% women	Methadone maintenance outpatient program; referrals to other services as needed
BAART's Family Addiction Center for Education & Treatment	1978	Federal/ State	Pregnant addict	Hospital referrals	50/year 100% women	Methadone maintenance, counseling, pre-natal & parenting classes, pediatric care, support groups, referrals to community services as needed
Walden House	1969	Federal/ State/ County	Ex-offender substance abuser	Inmate outreach Court referrals Word of mouth	125/year 33% women	Therapeutic community, drug rehabilitation, vocational & educational training, referrals to other services as needed
San Francisco Department of Social Services Court Dependency Program	1978	City/ County	Children in need of protection	Court decisions & referrals	300 families a year	Reviews & evaluates status of court dependents & their parents; Supervises caretakers & works with parents to regain legal custody of children
Options for Women Over Forty	1978	CETA private	Women over 40	Newsletter Word of mouth	50/month 100% women	Support groups, social activities, referrals to resources for women as needed

Appendix B

TYPES OF JOBS IN JOB CATEGORIES

Personal Services:	waitress, nurse's aid, bartender, personal attendant, fortune teller, dancer, catering worker, beauty operator, childcare, assistant manager fast-food service
Unskilled:	maid, assembly line worker, laundry, housekeeper, cafeteria worker, candy maker (line), hotel valet, janitor-maintenance, street cleaner, cannery worker
Semi-Skilled:	cook, machinist, truck driver, longshoreman, seaman, construction worker, book-binder
Skilled:	sheetmetal worker, plant operator, mechanic, miner, printer, railroad engineer, house painter
Clerical:	secretary, switchboard/telephone operator, airline reservations, tax clerk, hotel desk, airlines fleet clerk, cashier, library assistant
Sales:	real estate
Semi-Professional:	draftsman, computer analyst, armed services, laboratory technician, minister (not college/ seminary grad), teacher's aid, LVN, electronics assembler, counseling, dental assistant, hospital services
Professional:	nurse, school principal, dietician, teacher, engineer, police officer, psychologist, armed forces officer, probation officer
Manager/Proprietor:	department supervisor, contractor, small business owner, farmer, night club manager

Appendix C

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

WOMEN'S JAIL PROJECT

Interview Schedule

Name: _____

ID Number: _____

Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

I. (PERSONAL/FAMILY)

2. Race or ethnicity

1 - White
2 - Black
3 - Latina
4 - Asian _____
5 - Native American Indian
6 - Puerto Rican
7 - Indian
8 - Other, specify

3. When you were arrested this time, who did you live with?

1 - alone
2 - alone with children
3 - legal spouse
4 - legal spouse and children
5 - boyfriend
6 - boyfriend and children
7 - parent(s) which _____
8 - other relatives _____
9 - friends

6. Do you have children under the age of eighteen? 1. YES____ 2. NO____

9. Who has assumed care of these children while you are in jail?

1 - Children's father
2 - Relative (specify relationship to you: _____)
3 - Friend
4 - Foster care family
5 - Adoptive parents (legal adoption)
6 - Other (please specify: _____
_____
7 - Does not apply

29. Do you expect anyone in your family to help you when you are released?

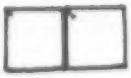
1 - yes
2 - no
3 - don't know
4 - won't ask them
5 - does not apply

31. How will they help?

1 - take care of kids
2 - clothes
3 - money
4 - place to stay
5 - help to get a job
6 - other _____
7 - does not apply

38. If you have served any time before, did you have any problems in "getting things together" when you went back to the streets?

1 - yes
2 - no
3 - does not apply



39. What kind(s) of problems? _____
_____

Appendix D

RELATED ACTIVITIES

As part of this project the research directors were involved in a number of related activities. Testimony was given at regional hearings of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education on the need for community-based training for women caught up in the criminal justice system. Findings of the study were presented at the Spring 1980 meetings of the Association for Criminal Justice Research (California), and at the Fall 1980 meetings of the American Society of Criminology, a paper on theoretical considerations of black women and criminal justice was presented. A university level course on women and criminal justice was designed and offered as a regular part of the curriculum at the University of California, Santa Cruz. The project staff were also involved in the development of two community organizations seeking to assist women prisoners and ex-prisoners in San Francisco which are described below.

The Northern California Women's Employment Coalition (NOR/CAL) is a volunteer service organization (composed predominantly of women employed in the private sector) which offers information and support to women re-entering the community from the county jail. The group's first activity was a series of eight seminars presented at the jail over a six-week period. The series focused primarily on employment concerns and included discussions on breaking into the job market; motivational techniques; finding a job despite a criminal record; and overcoming other employment barriers. Adjunct sessions related to survival resources when getting out, dealing with the psychological adjustment of getting out, and available health care resources.

Each of the jail seminars was conducted by a professional with particular field expertise, and was designed to provide information and promote discussion among the women. Each speaker presented a talk followed by a discussion period during which individual problems and concerns could be aired and explored. Following the group discussion period, time was allowed for socializing, with refreshments provided by members. Subsequently, NOR/CAL has put on two additional series of seminars. Members have maintained contact with a number of released women, providing one to one support and assistance.

The Women's Community Development Project (WCDP) was incorporated in 1978. Its goals are to improve and develop services to women prisoners and ex-prisoners, and to train and employ them through the creation of small businesses, using the community development corporation model. While this study was being conducted, the group was seeking funding for initial activities. The research findings showed a strong need for re-entry planning and services for women in the jail. The David and Lucille Packard Foundation, which provided financial support for this research, agreed to fund WCDP for a staff person to provide re-entry services.

Re-entry services began in July of 1980. The staff person provides counseling and referrals for women inmates, and has worked with the Sheriff's Department and community agencies to bring more resources into the jail. Post-release project activities have included advocacy, a peer support group, and referrals to housing, employment, and legal assistance.

A resource sheet, prepared from materials obtained in the study of community service programs, was distributed to women in the jail. It is presented below.

* RESOURCES FOR WOMEN *

in

* SAN FRANCISCO *

*** HOUSING ***

CRITTENDON SERVICES - 840 Broderick Street - Tel: 567-2357 - A residential center for single pregnant women and single mothers (child must be under three years) - No current drug or alcohol users - Not a temporary shelter - Fee: AFDC or sliding scale.

FRIENDSHIP HOUSE - 1340 Golden Gate Avenue - Tel: 922-3866 - Emergency housing, especially for American Indians, but will take all women and children - Aid in obtaining G.A. and welfare - Fee: $30 a week contribution (sliding scale) - Maximum stay: two weeks.

LA CASA DE LAS MADRES - P.O. Box 1517, SF, CA 94115 - Tel: 585-2844 - Emergency refuge for battered women and children - Offers shelter, counseling, and referrals - No fee - Maximum stay: 4-6 weeks.

SANDERS COMMUNITY HOUSE - 605 Waller Street - Tel: 824-9009 - Co-ed residence for ex-prisoners - Psych. counseling and job referrals available - Residents are asked to aid in the upkeep of the house - Fee: $275 a month (room & board) - Accepts G.A. on a temporary basis.

SISTERS OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD - 501 Cambridge Street - Tel: 586-2822 - Provides housing for women in need - Referrals to job training programs, health services, etc. - Average stay is 3-4 months, but will accept people for 1-2 nights - No fee.

YMCA - 351 Turk Street - Tel: 673-3212 - Offers housing to women, families, etc. - Accepts those with vouchers from the Sheriff's Reentry Program at a reduced rate of $5.50/night or $27.50/week - Regular rate $10/night or $40/week - Beds fill by 3:00 p.m. so go early.

*** MULTIPLE SERVICES ***

FRIENDS OUTSIDE - 136 Church Street - Tel: 863-5101 - Provides clothing, employment counseling, personal and family counseling, and transportation to various state prisons and San Bruno to ex-prisoners.

HAIGHT-ASHBURY SWITCHBOARD - 1539 Haight Street - Tel: 387-7000 - General referral services to jobs, medical aid, and other resources - They are planning to open an emergency housing program in November 1979.

HOSPITALITY HOUSE - 146 Leavenworth Street - Tel: 776-2102 - Community drop-in center - Provides free clothing, job counseling, outreach program, drug counseling - General medical clinic Wednesday afternoons (1:00-3:15 p.m.)

(more)

MULTIPLE SERVICES (continued)

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA SERVICE LEAGUE - 1104 Harrison Street - Tel: 863-2323 - Pre-trial liaison with families and attorney, ex-offender programs, job counseling, referrals for housing, alcohol and drug rehabilitation referrals, clothing, and some emergency funds for transportation, etc.

SHERIFF'S COMMUNITY REENTRY CENTER - 505 7th Street - Tel: 558-3126 - Food, lodging, transportation, job assistance and development.

S.F. COUNTY PAROLE: Community Outreach - 2225 Mission Street - Tel: 558-4923 - Special ex-offender aid.

S.F. WOMEN'S SWITCHBOARD - 4th Floor, Women's Building, 3543 18th Street - Tel: 431-1414 - Referrals for housing, legal, medical and psychiatric problems.

TRAVELERS AID - 38 Mason Street - Tel: 781-6738 - Referrals to emergency housing and other San Francisco agencies - Counseling and other services for newcomers to San Francisco - Emergency child-care center (see child-care section).

*** COUNSELING, MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HEALTH ***

CENTER FOR SPECIAL PROBLEMS - 2107 Van Ness Avenue - Tel: 558-4801 - Provides individual counseling and group therapy for ex-offenders, and for people with problems with drugs and alcohol, and sexuality (sexual minorities, gays, prostitutes).

DISTRICT HEALTH CENTERS - Five city locations - Phone the clinic nearest you for an appointment - Free general health care:

District Health Center # 1 - 3850 17th Street - Tel: 558-3905
District Health Center # 2 - 1301 Pierce Street - Tel: 558-3256
District Health Center # 3 - 1525 Silver Avenue - Tel: 468-3664
District Health Center # 4 - 1490 Mason Street - Tel: 558-7158
District Health Center # 5 - 1351 24th Avenue - Tel: 661-4400

V.D. CONTROL - 250 4th Street - Tel: 558-3804 - Free testing for syphillis and gonorrhea - M/Th: 9:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. - T/W/F: 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

WOMEN'S NEEDS CENTER - 1698 Haight Street - Tel: 621-1003 - Free general women's health services - Phone one week in advance for appointment (after 10:30 a.m.).

*** ALCOHOL/DRUG TREATMENT ***

CENTRO DE CAMBIO - 3007 24th Street - Tel: 641-1994 - Emergency drug treatment on an outpatient basis - There is also a residential treatment program at 1516 Dolores.

DELANCEY STREET FOUNDATION - 2563 Divisadero Street - Tel: 563-5326 - Residential community for ex-offenders, drug abusers or alcoholics - Residents are expected to commit themselves to the program for two years.

ALCOHOL/DRUG TREATMENT (continued)

THIRTEEN THIRTY-FIVE GUERRERO DETOX CENTER - 1335 Guerrero Street - Tel: 648-5321 - Inpatient alcohol detoxification center with a non-medical setting - Stay is 3-5 days.

WALDEN HOUSE - 815 Buena Vista West - Tel: 552-8220 - Free residential program for drug abusers - Approximately one year commitment expected.

*** TRAINING PROGRAMS/JOBS ***

APPRENTICESHIP OPPORTUNITIES FOUNDATION - 400 Alabama Street, Room 144 - Tel: 621-9712 - Aids minority and disadvantaged people in getting into various blue collar apprenticeship programs - Information on trade apprenticeships, assistance in determining your potential for various trades, tutoring for placement tests, information about current openings - Call for appointment.

EMPLOYMENT DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT - Mission Office, 2948 16th Street, Tel: 557-0521 - Fillmore Office, 1425 Turk Street, Tel: 557-3441 - Job development and placement, counseling, workshops - Employment bonding for ex-offenders can be set up through EDD - Mission Office has special ex-offenders unit - Fillmore Office has special "Service Center" to help ex-offenders - Be sure to mention your special needs to workers - Small "impress cash" fund for tools, transportation, food, etc.)

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (AFL/CIO) - 3068 16th Street - Tel: 626-1480 - Free aid to ex-offenders in job counseling, development, placement, referrals.

MISSION COALITION HIRING HALL - 2922 Mission Street - Tel: 647-3551 - Job placement in skilled and unskilled work - Employment counseling.

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESS - 681 Market Street, Room 257 - Tel: 495-8616 - Job information, interviews, placement and counseling - Ex-offender program.

WOMEN IN APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM, INC. - 25 Taylor Street, Room 617 - Tel: 673-3925 - Helps place women in blue collar jobs and non-traditional apprenticeship programs - Counsels women in the choice of a trade and how to get there - Aid in preparation for exams.

*** LEGAL AID ***

BAYVIEW/HUNTERS POINT FOUNDATION FOR COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT - 6025 3rd Street - Tel: 822-6180 - Legal representation for low-income residents of Bayview/hunters Point/Sunnyvale/Potrero Hill areas - Also, drug/alcohol/mental health counseling and outpatient clinic.

LEGAL SERVICES FOR PRISONERS WITH CHILDREN - 433 Turk Street, 2nd Floor - Tel: 474-7668 - Legal counseling for parents - Parents' rights, dependency, foster care, child placement - Free if client is in prison.

(more)

LEGAL AID (continued)

MISSION COMMUNITY LEGAL DEFENSE - 2940 16th Street, Room 301 - Tel: 552-3910 - Handles criminal charges primarily - Also helps with problems with welfare law and immigration - Free service for low-income Mission District residents only.

SAN FRANCISCO NEIGHBORHOOD LEGAL ASSISTANCE - 870 Market Street, 11th Floor - Tel: 433-2535 - Civil litigation cases, landlord/tenant problems, welfare law, temporary restraining orders - Free.

*** CHILD CARE ***

CHILDCARE SWITCHBOARD - 3896 24th Street - Tel: 282-7858 - Information and referrals for all types of child care.

TENDERLOIN CHILDCARE CENTER - 351 Turk Street (in YMCA Hotel) - Tel: 776-3411 - Daycare center for low-income residents of the Tenderloin - Drop-in child care - Part-time and full-time child care - Phone to make intake appointment - Fee: low sliding scale.

*** MISCELLANEOUS ***

NATIONAL TASK FORCE ON PROSTITUTION - P.O. Box 26354, SF, CA 94126 - Tel: 431-4863 - Some crisis counseling for prostitutes who have been raped or otherwise abused - Help in deciding what course to follow after 647(b) arrests - Publishes newsletter, NTFP NEWS, concerning international movement to decriminalize prostitution.

(end)

PREPARED BY: NOR/CAL (Northern California Women's Employment Coalition) and the Women's Jail Project of the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee.